# VALUE ORIENTATIONS OF LEADERS AND STUDENTS IN POPAYAN, COLOMBIA

By

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Dedicated

to

Mama and Daddy

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# VALUE ORIENTATIONS OF LEADERS AND STUDENTS IN POPAYÁN, COLOMBIA

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The findings reported in this dissertation were taken from a larger study of value orientations in three Colombian cities at different stages of social and economic development. A major hypothesis which has guided the investigation was that a city's rate and stage of social and economic development are affected by the value orientations of the people who make the major decisions in that city.

Much speculation has arisen concerning the causes of development. Many, if not most, of the explanations of the phenomenon have dealt primarily with economic factors. However, traditional economic theory thusfar has been unable to explain satisfactorily why some societies have developed at very unequal rates although they began at approximately equal positions.

The suggestion of various theorists that values play a significant role in the development process has provided a major basis for the work herein presented. Thus, the investigation was

designed to include an analysis of the value orientations (based on Florence Kluckhohn's theory) of top leaders. Additionally, the value orientations of students and of their parents were solicited.

Although the larger study took into account the value orientations of leaders and students in three Colombian cities, the present work is limited mainly to a report of the findings in Popayán, the least-developed of the three cities. Comparisons were made with the results from Medellín, the most-developed of the three, in order to gain some insight into the nature of the relationship between value orientations and stage of development.

The sample of leaders was taken from seven sectors of leadership--commercial, industrial, banking, government, quasi-governmental entities, the Church, and the university--which detailed observation and information from knowledgeable informants suggested had the most influence on municipal decision-making. Interviews were conducted with 59 Popayán leaders, who were selected from the sampling frame by a random method. Biographical data which were used as independent variables in the testing of hypotheses were obtained from each respondent, as well as his responses to the 22 items on Kluckhohn's variations in value orientations instrument ("urban" version).

Using the same instrument, data were likewise collected from 154 male high school seniors in Popayán in four questionnaire sessions. Their perceptions of the possible responses of each of their parents were also obtained. Students were included in the investigation because this permitted an analysis of value orientations of more

socioeconomic strata than in the case of the leaders. Consequently, the questionnaire was used to elicit responses from students in both public and private schools at opposite extremes of socioeconomic status.

The hypotheses were formulated in terms of modernity, using the assumed dominant value orientations of middle-class people in the United States as a "modern" model. The data were analyzed by means of t-tests, which were calculated by computer.

The data analysis revealed few statistically significant findings which would support the major hypothesis. A majority of the results, however, were in the directions which were suggested by the hypotheses. Yet there was a quantity of findings which were not in the predicted directions.

A major conclusion of the dissertation is that there may be other values, not included in Kluckhohn's instrument, which are more relevant to development. It may be that there is no common set of values which are conducive to development in all societies. If certain values are more beneficial to development than others, this points up the need for more research in order to isolate and identify them and the role each plays in the development process.

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION[1]

The world in which we live is in a constant state of change. This phenomenon is not a new one but has been occurring down through the centuries. However, to our knowledge, the rapid rate at which our world, its people, and their basic social institutions are presently changing has never before been equalled on a sustained basis. Phenomena of such magnitude do not go unnoticed by man, who is at once the creator and the heir of such changes.

One of the many changes with tremendous impetus is the development of certain societies that have long been regarded as traditional into societies which could be called "modern." As a result, a general preoccupation with the process of development has presently reached an unprecedented level of consequence. Reasons for the growing concern over countries which are clearly underdeveloped, and over other countries which are in various stages along the development continuum, are many and varied. Many countries now in the early stages of development are manifesting an increased interest in knowing the whys and wherefores of the process in all its social, economic, political, educational and other aspects. Countries with greater degrees of economic development are interested in an increased pace of development.

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[1] This investigation was made possible through a Rockefeller Foundation grant to the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Florida, as part of an agreement between the Universidad del Valle, in Cali, Colombia, and the University of Florida, for a joint project in sociology, history, and political science.

To say that there are many factors which are involved in the emergence of a society with largely traditional overtones into one which could be called modern would be trite. However, there are those who agree with the present writer that the human component should not be overlooked. More specifically, _human motivations_ and _basic systems of values_ must not, and cannot, be omitted from consideration in this complex problem.

Latin America, being one of the large land areas of the world and an area of an ever-increasing rate of growth of human resources, has constituted a growing concern for scientists whose subject matter is human behavior, as well as for those whose interests lie in other fields of scientific endeavor. The region has been regarded as being generally underdeveloped. It should be noted that the several countries which comprise Latin America are at different rungs on the ladder of development. The progress of nations such as Argentina, Chile, and Mexico is well known. However, other countries are not making such notable transitions, and some of those which are in rapid development have received scant attention. For instance, "Although the economic growth of Colombia during the past 40 years has gone largely unnoticed by the world at large, one could count on one's fingers, possibly the fingers of one hand, the countries of the world whose rate of increase in per capita income during this period has been greater" (Hagen, 1962:353).

Yet as one looks around at the different regions of Colombia, he can readily see that the rapid rate of development mentioned by Hagen has not been uniform in all parts of the country. A visit to such underdeveloped parts of the country as Nariño, Tolima, and the Pacific Coast, among others, makes them stand out vividly in contrast with the more developed cities of Bogotá, Cali, and Medellín. Certainly, there are numerous factors which are useful in explaining why these changes have been differential. The present writer again would stress the human factor in eliciting social change, and, more specifically, development.

Among the paramount factors which influence human behavior are the basic values of the people involved. The possibility that there exist basic values which are conducive to, or restrictive of, social change should not be overlooked. This is the basic orientation of the work presented here.

## Nature, Scope, and Limitations of the Investigation

The study is based on Florence R. Kluckhohn's conceptualization of variations in value orientations (see Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961). It follows the naturalistic approach to the study of values, which holds that values are accessible to the same methods of inquiry and criteria of validity which are applicable to all forms of empirical knowledge.

Kluckhohn has elaborated an instrument designed to reveal a person's basic value orientations. The instrument has been tested in various studies and in several very different cultures. Its proper application and analysis are said to reveal intracultural and cross-cultural variations in value orientations.

In the process of social change, it is necessary to have some people who lead the way. Earlier studies have pointed out the power of community leaders in effecting change. Therefore, Kluckhohn's instrument was administered to leaders in two Colombian cities at opposite extremes on the development continuum in order to study some of the relationships between value orientations and development. It was also completed by students in order to afford comparisons of the value orientations of people in the different socioeconomic classes.

Various social and economic indices were utilized in the selection of the study sites. The cities of Popayán and Medellín were selected as representing the least-developed and most-developed departmental (state) capitals, respectively, excluding Bogotá, the national capital.[2] The sample of leaders was taken from various sectors of the cities' leadership groups, because it is recognized that people in different sections are influential in the community power structure. The students were defined as high school seniors in both public and private schools at vastly different levels of socioeconomic status.

It should be pointed out that the results of this study may not be generalized to Latin America, nor even necessarily to Colombia as a whole. The investigation is limited to Kluckhohn's concept of variations in value orientations among selected leaders and students from the cities of Popayán and Medellín.

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[2] In this paper, Popayán will receive major emphasis and data from Medellín will be used for comparative purposes only.

A major purpose of the study was to discover relationships between value orientations and the stage of development of each of the cities involved. Other objectives of the investigation may be classified as threefold in nature: descriptive, comparative, and analytical. In regards to the first objective, value profiles in each group were delineated. Secondly, the value profiles and value orientations of each group were compared with those of the other groups, as well as with those which have been discovered in similar groups in other cultures. Lastly, the analytic aspect included the testing of the hypotheses and the application of analytical models to the results.

## Questions for Study

In addition to seeking a relationship between value orientations and level of development for a given place, several individual biographical factors were considered as being of possible influence on an individual's value orientations.

Since it has been amply demonstrated that a person's social characteristics have an influence on what he is, does, and believes, questions were asked which would permit cross-classifications of the person's value orientations with factors such as his age, sex, occupation, education, and marital status. In the case of the students, the father's occupational and educational levels were obtained. Similarly, the name of the barrio (neighborhood) in which the interviewee lived was ascertained. Thus, the occupation, education, and socioeconomic status (SES) of the barrio permit classification of a respondent's SES.

Furthermore, a person's environment during the various periods of his socialization was regarded as important in shaping his value orientations. It was considered useful to know whether a person came from a rural or an urban background. The age at which a person lived in a certain place was deemed of consequence to the formation of basic values.

In addition, for the leaders, whether they had had university studies in a foreign country was thought to have a possible influence on their basic system of values. Thus, questions which could obtain these and other data were included on the face sheet of the instrument.

## Organization of the Dissertation

The development of the report which follows begins with a consideration of social change and development, since this particular topic is one of the bases of the investigation. Chapter 3, then, will deal with the other basis--value orientations. A review of the study community, Popayán, comes next in sequence, followed by a report of the design of the study.

Next in order comes an exposition of the results of the study in Chapters 6, 7, and 8. Chapter 6 deals with characteristics of the samples and is a description of the people who were interviewed. Chapter 7 specifies the value profiles found in each sector of each study group and includes internal comparisons of these value profiles. Perhaps more importantly, it provides a comparison of value orientations controlled by various biographical factors of the individual respondents and tests hypotheses related to value orientations in Popayán. Chapter 8 treats the major hypotheses dealing with development and compares the findings in Medellín and Popayán, as well as those of other investigations which have used the Kluckhohn instrument. Chapter 9 summarizes the findings, explores some of their implications, and states some conclusions.

# CHAPTER 2

# SOCIAL CHANGE AND DEVELOPMENT

Throughout most of human history, stability has been the most usual and preferred condition. This phenomenon exists in part because the old established ways of doing things require much less effort and anxiety than do new ones, the outcome of which may be uncertain. Therefore, there is a tendency to hold on to tried and proven methods. That this is true is seen in the fact that only within the past 300 years has change become somewhat sanctioned (LaPiere, 1965:1-2). Ecclesiastes 1:9 remarks that "There is no new thing under the sun," and Machiavelli noted that, "There is nothing more difficult to take in hand, more perilous to conduct, or more uncertain in its success, than to take the lead in the introduction of a new order of things" (Machiavelli, 1950:21). Another writer points out the fact that, "Paradoxically, as change has accelerated in the real world of experience the scientific disciplines dealing with man's actions and products have tended to emphasize orderly interdependence and static continuity" (Moore, 1967:3).

The emphasis on stability has carried over from the outside world into the discipline of sociology. True, sociologists are interested in how and why change occurs, but most of their time and efforts in teaching and in research have been concentrated on the social structure and its parts. Nevertheless, some social scientists are devoting more of their attention to the phenomenon of social change, and this chapter will take a brief look at the theories of these men.

Change is a prevalent feature of life in the modern United States, and is occurring in all societies of the world, although at greatly differing rates. Furthermore, it is readily evident that the rate itself is increasing at a fairly rapid pace. In some places, however, change on a small scale may be desired only in order to promote stability on a larger scale (Moore, 1967:3). In fact, both Plato and Marx were of the persuasion that modifications in the social order were desirable only as they contributed to the attainment of its continuity (LaPiere, 1965:1).

There has been, and still is, a wide range of viewpoints concerning the desirability, inevitability, causes and processes of social change. Recently, much has been written concerning social change, development, and modernization. Yet at the same time it is fashionable to say that there is no theory of social change. True, there is no general, all-encompassing theory which adequately explains the phenomenon. However, there do exist numerous theories which take into account some of the specific characteristics of social units (Inkeles, 1964:88-91).

Before we turn to a discussion of some of those theories, let us first identify the concept, social change. There are various definitions, ranging from the very simplistic to more complicated ones (see Nordskog, 1960:1; Fairchild, 1962:277; and Berelson and Steiner, 1964:588).

For the purpose of this work, social change may be thought of as those alterations in values, sentiments, social organization, and/or social processes of a human group that lead to perceptible variations in the nature and quality of social interaction.

## Theories of Social Change

Because of the large number of theories concerning change, this section will be limited to a discussion of selected theories which are thought to be representative of the field. The classification system used herein is based on a synthesis of three others (see LaPiere, 1965:1-39; Ryan, 1969:21-50; and Himes, 1968:426-433). It is taken mainly from the former, with modifications coming from the other two books and from the present writer.

### The Concept of Social Progress

Whatever the conditions of the times, most of the social thought of the Middle Ages was a justification of things as they were. Jean Bodin broke this tradition when he offered a cyclical interpretation of history during the sixteenth century as he wrote of the decline of Rome. Machiavelli, on the other hand, was interested in preserving the power of princes. Finally, John Locke came out in favor of change through revolution as a manner of righting the wrongs of political tyranny. Marx, after him, held similar ideas toward revolution. During the latter part of the eighteenth century, the idea that change in and of itself was to be desired took form. Condorcet and Saint-Simon both believed that men could improve themselves and their lives through their own individual efforts and through rational thinking and planning.

LaPiere regards the idea of social progress as a major ideological innovation. It rejected the traditional idea that the world was inherently bad and probably led eventually to many of the changes which have produced our modern-day ways of thinking and doing things (LaPiere, 1965:2-4).

## Evolutionism

Evolutionism is closely related to social progress, but features an added dimension, since it attempts to define the course of social development. One of the most notable thinkers in this area was Auguste Comte, who added his law of the three stages, a conspicuous example of the linear conception of social and historical change of the past century, to progressive thinking.

Briefly, Comte believed that each individual and each society passes through three stages of mental development. In the first stage, which Comte calls the _Theological_, man is terribly curious about his environment and about other people and his relation to them. Since the cultural base is so small, then man supposes that all phenomena are caused by supernatural beings. The _Metaphysical_ stage follows as a modification of the Theological. Abstractions are looked upon as being the directing forces of nature. When man learns to stop looking for ultimate causes and begins to use his and others' observations and experiences and to accept the interrelations and associate the facts, then he enters what Comte refers to as the _Scientific_, or positive, stage (Comte, 1896:1-2, as cited in Vine, 1959:28-29; Cf. Sorokin, 1928:728).

Comte regarded progress as an inevitable working of human law. In his concepts of a new positivist world, he thought that man could hasten progress through the application of sociology by social engineers. His conception of progress was, for the most part, intellectual and moral, but it also had its material aspects (Vine, 1959:36-38).

Herbert Spencer felt that change was inevitable, that it was a part of a universal design which was beyond the control of man. He thought that all societies go through a series of stages which are definite and unchangeable. His Law of the Multiplication of Effects held that everything changes, and in the process becomes more complex. There is a very close relationship between cause and effect, to wit: in a series of causes, the effect of a given cause then becomes a cause of something else.

Spencer classified the factors involved in social change as primary and secondary. By primary factors he meant the characteristics (physical, emotional, and intellectual) of the individuals in the society and the physical, political, social, religious, and other conditions under which the society exists. Spencer took into account the various environmental conditions and realized that the early stages of social evolution are much more dependent upon local conditions than the later ones (Spencer, 1899:39, as cited in Vine, 1959:55-56). He formulated five secondary factors of human change:

(1) Progressive modification of environment by societies.

(2) Size of society. The density of population increases in direct proportion to the specialization of labor in the society.

(3) Reciprocal influence of society and the individual. The influence of the whole on its parts, and of the parts on the whole.

(4) The accumulation of superorganic products, such as material objects, language, knowledge, myths, and the like.

(5) The struggle between the society and neighboring societies (Spencer, 1899:10-15, as quoted in Vine, 1959:56).

According to Spencer, all these factors combine in different manners to bring about the process of social evolution.

For Spencer the terms progress and evolution were synonymous. He viewed evolution as being natural, automatic, and inherently progressive. According to him, the cause of social progress was the modification of man's moral nature as he adapts more and more to social relations (Spencer, 1899:13-15).

Anthropologists such as Morgan, Maine, and Westermarck proposed theories which incorporated the ideas of stages of Comte and Spencer. Gumplowicz and Kidd built on Darwin's survival of the fittest theory, holding that that which would survive would be the most efficient system, or part of the system (LaPiere, 1965:6).

### Neo-Evolutionism

Lester F. Ward, influenced by Comte's positivism, and greatly concerned with the idea of social telesis, divided pure sociology into genesis and telesis. Genesis is the natural, unconscious, evolutionary development of man. Telesis, his key concept, is the conscious, evolutionary development of man, progress intelligently planned and directed. For him, the central theme of sociology was human achievement.

To Ward, social telesis was the more important of the two factors in social change. He agreed with Spencer's idea of evolution and expanded upon it through his conceptions of sympodial development and creative synthesis. However, Ward did not agree with Spencer's belief that evolution was natural and automatic and that reform had no value unless it interfered with the evolutionary process. He felt that man, because of his superior mental powers, is able to improve society, and using scientific knowledge as a tool, should do so. He was careful to point out that social telesis followed the laws of nature, as did natural evolution. Telesis implies merely a conscious hastening of evolution and is artificial only as it is planned and deliberate. Education was to be the primary agency of social change.

Ward believed that man's efforts are expended in an effort to attain happiness and that education (universal, public, compulsory) was the beginning to an approach to happiness. He viewed the path toward happiness as consisting of six steps--education, knowledge, dynamic opinion, dynamic action, progress, and happiness--each one depending on its immediate predecessor (Vine, 1959:18. Cf. Lichtenberger, 1923:385-90).

In The Division of Labor in Society, Emile Durkheim agreed with Spencer's notion that an increase in the division of labor was an important factor in the development of a primitive society into a civilized one.

In primitive societies, where the division of labor has not developed, individuals are relatively similar. They are bound together by a "mechanical" type of solidarity in which they blindly obey public opinion and tradition. In civilized societies, on the other hand, there is a well-developed division of labor. Here, individuals are bound together by an organic solidarity because they need each other's goods and services. Because of this growing emphasis on specialization, individuals tend to be more differentiated from each other, and thus more individualistic. As an individual, each person must contribute his specialization to the betterment of his society.

Durkheim, in searching for the causes of social evolution, disagreed with Spencer's idea that civilization was created by happiness or by the desire for happiness. He felt that material wealth and civilization had not really contributed to man's happiness. On the contrary, he found that primitive societies appeared to be happier than richer ones. He encountered lower rates of suicides and neuroses in primitive societies than in contemporary ones. Durkheim concluded that increased social density, caused by population growth and technology, was the primary cause of an increasing division of labor (Vine, 1959:130-133; 141-142).

Max Weber felt that social change was based on the conflict among three general principles: traditionalism, rationality, and charisma. The tension which results from the conflict between traditionalism and rationalism is responsible for much of the evolution of social structures. Frequently, both of these principles have appeared to conflict with the charismatic principle. The single most important and most general element would have to be rationalization.

The phenomenon of bureaucratization in politics is an example of a secular rationalization. The trend toward bureaucratization is balanced by the concept of charisma, which Weber sees as a truly revolutionary force in history. Thus, change occurs as a result of the counterbalancing of rationalizing and charismatic forces (Martindale, 1960:393).

Weber's major contribution to the field of social change in Western civilization, however, lies in his analysis of the development of capitalism. It was the obverse of Marx's contention that all social systems and institutions, including religion, are determined by the economic system. From his analysis of the development of modern industrial capitalism and Protestantism and his study of their interrelationships, he concluded that the rise of capitalism was a by-product of Protestantism. Materialism had no place in traditional Catholic attitudes toward making a living which were prevalent in the Middle Ages. With the advent and rise of Protestantism, though, it was considered acceptable and eventually meritorious to make a just profit in business transactions. With industrial capitalism, the idea of an obligation to make an unlimited amount of money developed. This, together with other related ideas, was Weber's "spirit of capitalism." His hypothesis was that modern capitalism could not have developed without the Protestant ethic (see Vine, 1959:223-226).

William Graham Sumner considered progress to be an act of faith. Thus, scientific knowledge and proof were not applicable in the study of progress. He agreed strongly with Spencer's theory of social evolution, but used it to a limited extent only in his theories.

His most important contributions to sociology include his concepts of folkways and mores, and it is here that he introduces thoughts concerning social change. Sometimes he speaks of the spontaneous evolution of folkways and mores. At other times, he observes that people merely stumble upon certain modes of behavior through trial and error. If a specific manner of comportment "works," that is, performs a social function, then it becomes a part of the folkways. If not, it simply ceases to exist, and alternatives are found. If the folkway in turn persists and becomes important to group welfare, it becomes a mos. Folkways and mores, while generally resistant to change, sometimes are modified by accident or the irrationality of people. He did not believe that people can criticize fairly their own mores, nor change them by any predetermined action (Sumner, 1907:97-98, as cited in Vine, 1959:103).

## Socialistic Concepts of Change[1]

Much of Western social thought was dominated by evolutionism during the nineteenth and part of the twentieth century. Often, it was combined with the concept of progress through a deliberately and rationally planned reform program. Reforms advocated here in the United States were generally of a particularistic nature, but the European thinkers advocated broader, more sweeping changes of a systematic character.

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[1] Most of this section is developed from LaPiere (1965:9-15).

## Anarchism

The feeling that government stands in the way of social progress began with Saint-Simon, was expanded by Rousseau, and was shared to a limited extent by Adam Smith. Government resists change because it represents the elite, who reason that it is in their best interests for things to remain as they are. Revolution is not the answer, for it is government itself which must be eliminated, thus permitting man's true nature, altruism, to manifest itself. Thus, in anarchy it is reasoned that there will be a peaceful, harmonious spirit of cooperation for the common good. Although some violence might be necessary, it should be used only as a means of abolishing the government and thus ultimately attaining a utopian society.

Many people during this period considered government to be a necessary evil, including the authors of the United States Constitution. Karl Marx felt that government was essential only in the transitional period between the revolutionary destruction of capitalism and the establishment of a communal system.

## Marxism

Karl Marx had evolutionary, as well as revolutionary, ideas. He, like Comte, saw society as moving through various stages of development. Movement through these phases was inevitable and was caused by "historical imperatives." Capitalism, the nineteenth-century phase, had brought great advances in the production of material goods but had resulted in the exploitation of the workers by the capitalists, who could do so because they held the reins of government. Eventually, the workers would develop a class consciousness and would revolt, then creating a government of, by, and for the people. Next, they would institute a communistic economic system. There would be government control during this transitional period, but once people learned to live together, then the need for government would disappear and life would become stable.

Marx saw change as a means of creating a utopian stability. Thus, he was basically an evolutionist, but differed from others who held this viewpoint only in the particular stages through which he felt society was moving.

### Fabian socialism

Marxism did not really have the predictive power which most people attribute to it. It was the Fabian socialists who came closest in this respect.[2] The name comes from the Roman general Quintus Fabius Marximus, and George Bernard Shaw and other British intellectuals of the day were major proponents of the theory.

The Fabian socialists were at odds with some aspects of the capitalist system, yet were in violent opposition to Marx's suggestion of revolution. They thought that the transition to socialism would come about gradually on its own. They merely looked at some of the changes which were then occurring in highly industrialized societies and projected them into the future.

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[2] For a summary of the arguments in support of this statement, the reader is referred to LaPiere (1965:12-13).

## Cyclical Change

Historical data were often referred to in order to support the idea of the constancy and trend toward perfection inherent in the theory of social evolution. However, authors often carefully selected historical antecedents in order to support their ideas.

When human culture is surveyed, there appears to be a progressive refinement, especially of items of material culture, over the centuries. There are many instances in which development can be traced step by step through the years. A close look at this type of analysis leads one to the concept of evolutionary progress. Leslie White (1959) has attempted to revive evolutionary theory in this manner (Cf. Child, 1950; Steward, 1955; and Sahlins and Service, 1960).

However, such is not the case when one looks at the life of specific peoples. Many of these peoples and their ways of life have come and gone. Many civilizations seem to have developed, progressed, and vanished, and especially is this the case in the Mediterranean area. The rise and decline of societies is a more or less "natural" way of perceiving change over the years. Proponents of this view differ from the evolutionists in that they view change as cyclical and therefore not always tending toward perfection.

Giovanni Battista Vico was one of the earliest to adopt this line of thinking. Edward Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire existed for almost two centuries as the major theoretical framework used by historians. Much of H. G. Wells' Outline of History followed the same pattern (this paragraph adapted from LaPiere, 1965:15-19).

Oswald Spengler felt that the West, which had been so advanced and had developed industry, was on the downswing of the cycle. Next would come the era of the Asians. In his system of cyclical change, Spengler viewed culture as an organism whose development is more a matter of destiny than of causation. Cultures pass through the same stages of growth and decline as do individuals. These stages are childhood, youth,maturity, and old age. At times, Spengler substitutes an image of the four seasons--spring, summer, autumn, and winter--for that of the four life periods.

> He also conceives of both a prelude to the life cycle of a culture and an epilogue. Thus before the awakening, or the beginning of springtime, people live in a precultural stage; in fact, most people never emerge from this stage. Once the culture is launched, however, the four stages follow in order. The last of these stages, winter, imperceptibly becomes a dying "civilization. . . ." Civilization is thus the epilogue of every culture: death following life, rigidity succeeding intellectual creativeness (Timasheff, 1957:278. Cf. Spengler, 1939).

Stoddard came to more or less the same conclusion. However, the cyclical frame of reference does not lead inevitably to this conclusion. Sorokin and Toynbee have likewise used the cyclical approach but have concluded that Western civilization may survive instead of eventually perishing (LaPiere, 1965:19).

In Sorokin's manner of thinking, social change is the most all-embracing of the significant processes of society. He considers change as a characteristic of sociocultural phenomena. Most of his work was centered in the field of social change.

His first work in English, The Sociology of Revolution (1925), concerned violent change. In typical revolutions the main course of internal events follows a cycle of license, reaction, repression, and eventually a new equilibrium. He believed that no revolution finally concluded with a fundamental alteration of the state of affairs. He also dealt with social change in another early work, Social Mobility (1927). Sorokin's major work, however, according to Timasheff (1957:235) is Social and Cultural Dynamics (1937-41), in which he analyzed the patterns and trends of social change over the last 2500 years. In order to study change, he divided cultures into three types: ideational, idealistic, and sensate. He maintained that the pattern of change was a fluctuation between ideational and sensate cultures. The general trend of social change was that of a straight-line advance up to a certain limit. When it almost reached this limit, it then reversed the linear trend. (In some cases, this was caused by cultural stagnation.) The reversed development advanced toward still another limit, and then was once more reversed.

He showed that this pattern had characterized the whole history of Western culture since the time of ancient Greece.

> Greek culture is described as ideational from the eighth century until the end of the sixth century B.C.; for the succeeding century and a half, including the Golden Age of Athens, it was idealistic. From the later part of the fourth century B.C. to the fourth century A.D., during which the Roman Empire emerged and flourished, culture was sensate. The subsequent two centuries of mixed culture were followed by a long period of ideational culture. From the end of the twelfth century to the early fourteenth, culture was idealistic; this is the age of Gothic cathedrals, of Dante, and of St. Thomas Aquinas (Timasheff, 1957:282-283).

Culture has become more and more sensate since the end of the fourteenth century, and may have reached its climax, since there is some evidence, according to Timasheff (1957:283), that culture may be changing toward the ideational pole. The conclusion of Sorokin's analysis was that there had been neither progress nor a linear or cyclical trend in history. The fluctuation had been within the three supersystems of integration discussed above.

Sorokin did not believe that changes in cultural mentalities could be interpreted by certain external factors, except as secondary factors. The significant factor in change was immanent self-regulation and direction. Immanent change was the realization of the built-in potentials of the system (Vine, 1959:278-285).

Arnold Toynbee's theory of social change is based on a study of 26 civilizations. He attempts to depict uniformities in the manner in which civilizations grow and decline and to explain the principles of this pattern. His theory, like that of Spengler, has four parts--birth, growth, breakdown, and disintegration. At a certain time and place, there emerges a civilization. Under given conditions, it grows, if it is not stopped or it is not abortive. Ultimately this growth causes a breakdown which is in turn followed by the decline of the civilization.

One of the major theses of Toynbee is that the processes of origin and growth are dominated by the challenge-response pattern. A civilization may emerge and grow if the challenge is not too severe and if there is an elite which finds the adequate response to the challenge.

Certain definite characteristics are displayed by growing civilizations. They each contain a creative minority which is followed by the majority of the people. The process of growth includes a progressive integration and self-determination of the civilization, plus its differentiation from others as it acquires a unique style (Timasheff, 1957:279-282).

> During the final stage of the civilizational cycle, four types of personalities emerge: the archaic, looking for salvation in the return to the past (the "savior with the time machine"); the futurist who appears as the "savior with the sword"; the indifferent stoic; and the religious savior. At this stage, the only way of salvation is by means of transfiguration, on the basis of religion (Timasheff, 1957:281).

F. Stuart Chapin was influenced to a degree by Tarde, Giddings, and Ross in his notions concerning social change. He viewed cultural change as "selectively accumulative in time, and cyclical or oscillatory in nature" (Martindale, 1960:333). He divides the cycles into those of material culture and nonmaterial culture.

He formulated several types of cycles:

> Those of first order relate to material culture and may be minor, small, and limited in time, like a business cycle or cycle of dependency in a city; or they may be major, like the rise and fall of the slave system of Rome, the manorial system of England, feudalism in France or capitalism in modern Europe. Cycles of second order relate to non-material culture and also may be of minor degree (like the rise of religious sects, or the growth of a type of governmental structure) or of major degree (illustrated by ancestor worship, the patriarchal family, or monarchical government. Cycles of third order refer to larger cultural compositions such as national culture or civilization, and vary from minor things like the rise and fall of dynasties or classes to major types like the rise of Hellenic, Mycenaean, or Hindu culture (Martindale, 1960:333).

Chapin proposed four basic hypotheses to account for these cycles:

> Every cultural form has its own law of change; the law of each cultural form is cyclical and probably periodic; it is possible to express the law of its life cycle quantitatively; and when cycles or periods of a number of cultural forms are synchronous, there is produced a period of maturity of the cultural nation or group in which the traits are located (Martindale, 1960:334).

In every cyclical change, Chapin concluded, there is a period of equilibrium. Thus there may be present social regulators--devices which directly implement the equilibrium. On the material culture level, the social regulators include the stock exchanges, the Federal Reserve System, etc. On the level of nonmaterial culture are such social control elements as custom, beliefs, public opinion, education, and law.

There is a three-phased basic group reaction pattern underlying this phenomenon of cyclical change. In the first phase, the group reacts by an attempt to enforce its mores. However, they soon feel out of step and shift to the second phase of the pattern, where they try different alternatives. The third phase ensues with the group putting into play its trial-and-error efforts (from phase two) into a stable plan (Chapin, 1928:222).

Alfred L. Kroeber studied the process of change in some more-developed cultures. His findings do not support a general theory of cultural change. He states that a given culture may flourish several times. In studying the growth of different aspects of a culture, he found no strict correlation among them. Nevertheless, Kroeber does maintain that periods of a high level of cultural creativity may be established in which bilateral development of several factors occurs simultaneously. He tends to be nonparticularistic in his reasons for the growth or decline of a culture, with the possible exception of the self-exhaustive tendency of movements (Timasheff, 1957:284-285).

There are a great many cyclical theories which are too numerous to mention here. Sorokin has an excellent résumé of those up through the first quarter of this century (Sorokin, 1928:728-741. Cf. LaPiere, 1965:21-22).

## Particularistic Theories

In this section, both deterministic and particularistic theories are dealt with. These theories are said to be deterministic in that they assume a direct cause-effect relationship in historic sequences, and particularistic because they delineate one single variable or set of interrelated variables as being causal. Most of the theories herein discussed have been elaborated in this century and are much narrower in scope than those which have been discussed previously. The great weakness in these theories is that they attribute change to a single cause, and it has been found repeatedly that, in human relationships, seldom is there a single causal factor.

### Diffusionism

G. Elliot Smith, an Egyptologist, elaborated the idea of culturally dominant centers and their role in bringing about change. Even before, it had been noted that at certain times in history, there have been certain societies which have taken the lead in innovations, discoveries, inventions and the like, in both material and nonmaterial culture. Smith indicated that the inventions of the Egyptians were diffused to and adopted by a goodly number of other societies. While this theory probably has some validity, there presently exists no way of validating it (LaPiere, 1965: 23-24).

### Geographic determinism[3]

There has long been a folk belief that a people's character is determined by the climate of the region in which they live. It is thought that people who live in the northern part of the Northern Hemisphere (opposite in the Southern Hemisphere) are more reserved, harder workers, extremely provident, restrained, stern, etc., while those in the southern portion are easygoing, somewhat lazy, cheerful, talkative, and open. This dichotomization is readily evident to people in the United States but also exists in a goodly number of other, even smaller, countries.

Jean Bodin was among the first to make this differentiation. Ellsworth Huntington used the geographic factor in an attempt to explain why societies change. Since the growth of a society rests upon the energies available and the mental efficiency of the people involved, then changes in climate (or mass migrations) are the causal factor in the progress, or lack of it, of a given civilization. Huntington maintained that, as the climate changed, so did the center of civilization (Ryan, 1969:22-24. See LaPiere, 1965:24-25; Huntington, 1924; and Huntington, 1945).

### Biological determinism

The folk belief that races have markedly different inherent capacities, both mental and physical, has existed over a long period of time and in a variety of forms. Count J. A. de Gobineau was the first known to put a racial interpretation on history. Reasoning that the French Aristocracy was in a position of power because of racial superiority to "lower" Frenchmen, he also believed that the French civilization was deteriorating and would soon be replaced by the more vigorous Germans. Basically, de Gobineau felt that all world civilizations which achieved prominence did so because of a particular race with a special, inborn capacity for building civilizations.

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[3] This section is developed largely from LaPiere (1965:24-26).

His theory came almost a century before the conquest of France by Germany under the direction of Adolph Hitler, who sincerely believed in the superiority of one race and who tried to put his thoughts into action.

Proponents of this theory hold to the belief that an increased reproduction of those with the superior race and a decreasing number of the inferior group is necessary in order for their society to progress.

Another variety of biologically deterministic theory argues that some men are born with superior mental powers. These geniuses, through their inventions and innovations, are able to bring about social change.

A still different type of biological determinism discusses changes in fecundity in an attempt to explain the rise and fall of civilizations. Corrado Gini theorized that the major cause in the evolution of civilizations is a change in the fecundity of the people. Other variants of biological determinism have been formulated, but most of them are so absurd that they are not discussed here (Ryan, 1969:24-27; and LaPiere, 1965:26-28).

## Sociological Theories of Social Change

As has been pointed out previously, some of the founding fathers of sociology, notably Comte, Spencer, and Ward, were interested in how it is that social development comes about. In order to answer this question they turned to social evolution, both to trace its development and to attempt to predict the future. However, they came up, not with scientific hypotheses, but with some rather grandiose social philosophies.

As the discipline of sociology developed, it became more scientific. Nevertheless, American sociologists have expended most of their efforts in other directions, and consequently, theories of social change have not received an equal share of their attention and efforts. Yet some more or less scientifically-oriented sociologists have formulated some hypotheses concerning the phenomenon.

### Assimilation

The United States has often been termed "the melting-pot of the world" because of the large number of immigrants who have come here and have been absorbed. A number of sociologists have been interested in their assimilation--the process by which they adopt U.S. ideas, habits, customs, and the like.

W. I. Thomas was perhaps one of the most outstanding sociologists to become interested in the assimilation of immigrants. For him, "the central problem in the general life process is one of adjustment" (Thomas, 1937:1). This adjustment, as spelled out in *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (1918-20), involves a process of disorganization, which is increased by rapid industrialization and urbanization and conflicting definitions of the situation. As a consequence, there is a forced reorganization by the group and by individuals before assimilation may occur (see LaPiere, 1965:29-30).

### Social ecology

The Chicago School of sociology dominated American sociology during the 1920's. One of the areas in which the Chicago sociologists ventured into social change was that of social ecology (see Park and Burgess, 1921). They applied the biological concepts of competition, conflict, and invasion to the investigation of changes in spatial relationships in urban populations in an effort to ascertain urban growth and the change that ensues.

This great oversimplification of such a complex phenomenon has precluded its acceptance by current sociologists. However, many of the findings in respect to human ecology have been found to be true and have led to other discoveries (LaPiere, 1965:30-31).

### Social lag and technology

William F. Ogburn advanced his theory of social lag in 1922 in an effort to provide a theory of social change comparable to some of the laws of the natural sciences. His idea is credited with having replaced the term social evolution with social change. He also formulated the concept of cultural lag, which has been used extensively in recent years. Although it has been widely criticized, the term remains a favorite of sociologists.

Within a culture there is correlation and interdependence of parts, so that a rapid change in one part of culture may require readjustments through other changes in the various correlated parts of culture. The thesis of cultural lag is that the various parts of a culture change at different rates (see Ogburn, 1950:200-207; 210-213. Cf. Ogburn, 1957).

Specifically, Ogburn maintains that it is changes in the material culture that occur first and thus require changes in the nonmaterial culture. He pointed out that social changes have their origin in the invention of a new way of doing something. It is the material technology where inventions most frequently occur and where improvements are most readily apparent. However, as these new developments occur in the technological field, a strain develops between the two aspects. This strain can be eased by a change in the social organization, which comes about slowly, if at all. Meanwhile, the lack of equilibrium which exists is called social lag (LaPiere, 1965:31).

Edward A. Ross was profoundly interested in social change. Because of this deep interest, he personally witnessed the Russian Revolution, the Boxer Rebellion, and the 1917 Mexican revolution. He wrote a number of books on social reform in the United States and strongly advocated population planning through controlled immigration and birth control. Implicit in his writing was a belief in progress and the assumption that sociologists should strive toward that end.

As processes of social change, he listed decadence, transformation, reconstruction, and revolution. He defined transformation as unconscious, unplanned change, and reconstruction as being both conscious and planned. He noted that changes in population numbers and characteristics, inventions, culture contacts, and the accumulation of wealth are the causes of transformations and have been the causes of great social changes within our society.

He listed the primary factors of contemporary social change, most of which were either advances in technology or were dependent thereon, the exceptions being education and the widespread adoption of the scientific method. It is interesting to note that he considered the machine to be the most important contemporary factor. The secondary factors of present-day social change are derived from the primary factors mainly and, to a lesser degree, from other, antecedent secondary factors (Ross, 1940:395. See also Vine, 1959:184-186).

In his Social Psychology (1908), he discussed the change from a tradition- and custom-oriented society to one in which fashion becomes important. In a democratic society, the appeal of the new causes a shift of interest from custom to new kinds of apparel, ideas, material inventions, etc. "The wide sweep of development in fashion seems to overshadow the role of the stable elements in society. Instability supplants a portion of the stability represented by custom and convention" (Bogardus, 1960:527).

Among factors causing social change Ross listed discussion,[4] the advent of the machine, economic and social deprivation, democracy, education, the falling birth rate in developed countries, imagination, etc.

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[4] First mentioned by Bagehot. See Bagehot, 1873:Chapter 5. See also Lasker, 1949:part III. Lasker defined discussion as a "social dynamic" and analyzed the discussion procedure thusly: (1) concern with a situation, (2) clarification of issues, (3) defining elements of conflict, (4) presentation of larger values and additional facts, and (5) dynamic agreement. This is his basis for rational social change (Bogardus, 1960:528).

Through Spencer's influence, Thorstein Veblen developed a theory of social change along evolutionary lines. He noted four stages in the development of human society: (1) a peaceful savage economy; (2) a predatory barbarian economy; (3) the handicraft economy of the premodern period; and (4) machine technology.

However, for him, the major force in social change is technology. Change occurs first within the technology of a society and then the new technology is adopted by the other social institutions. Thus social change is a slow process. He considered it to be self-generated by the instinct of workmanship with possible aid from the instinct of idle curiosity. He probably would have subscribed to Ogburn's theory of social lag (Vine, 1959:199-201; 207-210).

### Cultural acceleration

Gabriel Tarde made the observation that, other things being equal, the larger the cultural base of a society, then the more likely it is that two or more elements will be brought together in the form of an invention, which is the most important process in effecting social change.

The importance of the invention rests on its social acceptance through imitation. He noted that there are two ways in which social progress is accomplished. There are two possible solutions when two waves of contradictory imitations meet. One imitation may become suppressed and the other substituted for it. Another possibility is a combination of the two to form a new invention. Both results could lead to social progress (Vine, 1959:117-18).

Hornell Hart, expanding on Tarde's idea of inventions, noted that the more inventions there are, the greater is the likelihood that still more inventions will occur. Thus there should be a general tendency of geometrical multiplication of inventions. However, he is aware that setbacks in cultural change do occur, and he interprets them as survivals of poorly integrated elements in the whole culture (Hart, 1945:350). His general conclusion is that social change is linear, accelerative, and that it tends toward increasing efficiency.

### Elites as a factor in social change

Vilfredo Pareto noted that there are some people in any society who have different capabilities for economics, governing, etc. Therefore, in any given society there are always upper and lower classes. Among the upper class, he denoted governing and nongoverning elites. Political leaders, sometimes the aristocracy, and sometimes business leaders comprise the former, depending on the nature of the society, while the latter consists of industrial leaders, sometimes scientists, artists, and professionals.

His theory of the circulation of elites is a cyclical conception of change in economics and politics. The upper class, if it is to remain in power, must consist predominantly of speculators (chance-takers; people with intelligence, character, skill, and capacity), while the lower classes should be the conservative masses.

He noted that a society was continually both in a state of change and, at the same time, in a state of equilibrium. That is to say, whenever there is a change in society, there must be a balancing force to return it to an equilibrium. During every few generations, there is a turnover in the governing elite. When it first comes into power, the governing elite consists mainly of speculators, but they are unable to replace themselves. Thus if they wish to remain in power, they must recruit some speculators from the lower classes. If this is done, the upper class can remain in power indefinitely. Otherwise, it must resort to force. Nevertheless, Pareto maintains that without some circulation of the elite, the speculators of the lower class, unable to rise in the two-class system, will grow in numbers and eventually take control (Vine, 1959:261-264).

Wendell Bell attempts to understand some of the changes in the social composition of elites during a country's transition from colonial status to political independence. His thesis is "that social change . . . can be understood as a long-term trend toward an increase in the scale of society, that is, an increase in the range of relations, an increase in the scope of social interaction and dependency" (Bell, 1965:157). He found that, over the years, the circulation of elites in Jamaica, where he carried out his fieldwork, has increased as elites have become less exclusive.

## Other theories of social change

There are a number of other theories which are not taken up in this work. Some of these include the conflict theories of Coser and Dahrendorf; functional theories of Loomis and Bertrand; catastrophic theories of Park, Bucher, Gumplowicz, and Oppenheimer; socio-psychological theories of Becker, Barnett, Merton, and Hagen; and Smelser's social causation theory.[5]

## Development and Modernization

In this section the writer attempts to review selected theories of development and modernization, both of which may be considered as social change. It is realized that there are many theories not represented, but a full review is beyond the scope of this paper.

Development and modernization are terms which tend to be used more or less interchangeably. Modernization has been defined as:

> the change process by means of which a traditional non-Western system acquires characteristics usually associated with more developed and less traditional societies. These characteristics include "a comparatively high degree of urbanization, widespread literacy, comparatively high per capita income, extensive geographical and social mobility, a relatively high degree of commercialization and industrialization of the economy, an extensive and penetrative network of mass communication media, and, in general, . . . widespread participation and involvement by members of the society in modern social and economic processes" (Blanksten, 1965:225-226; quoted section from Almond and Coleman, 1960:532).

Development, as used in this report, refers to both social and economic development. However, since some may read "socioeconomic" and think "economic," it will be used without the modifier.

Karl Marx asserted that the economic factor is the fundamental determinant of the structure and development of society (economic determinism). He postulates three phases which are always a part of social change in a scheme which was originated by George Hegel

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[5] For a short discussion of each, see Ryan, (1969:31-50). Berelson and Steiner have an excellent resumé of findings concerning the conditions, results, and characteristics of leaders in social change.

(see Wallace, 1931; Hegel, 1929; Hegel, 1956) but applied to matter by Marx. According to this theory, everything passes by a kind of dialectical necessity through three stages: affirmation or thesis, negation or antithesis, and reconciliation of opposites or synthesis. As a society reaches the synthesis level, the process continues. Marx believed that every economic system begins by being the best which is possible at that time. Once a system has become socially entrenched, it becomes an obstacle to the use of new technology. Likewise, it obstructs the usage of new markets and new supplies of raw material. The only way to overcome the new order, which is now confirmed, is through social revolution, which in turn creates a new order of production which is a combination of the old and the new.

Every society has two basic classes, one representing the old and often obsolescent system of production, the other which is in the process of coming into existence. The struggle between these two classes results in the evolution of society from one stage to another. The new order wins, but within it are the forces which will in turn eventually destroy it. This is the dialectical process again (Timasheff, 1957:47).

Economic analysts in recent years have been attracted by the failure of economic growth to begin in some low-income societies and have formulated a number of theories concerning the barriers that have prevented growth. The initial approach was to assume that all barriers were economic ones. The economists reason that almost everyone is striving for higher income and that, therefore, they should seek improved means of production. Information about better means is fairly generally and readily available, so production techniques should be rapidly improving. But they are not. Thus, reason Hagen and other economists (Hagen, 1962:36-52), there must be some other formidable barriers which prevent them from doing so.

Some of the barriers frequently noted by economists are listed below:

1. The vicious circle of low income and inadequate saving (see Singer, 1949; Nurske, 1953:5; Kindleburger, 1958:8; and Lewis, 1955:236).

2. The demonstration effect. In some low-income societies, some members of the upper class have sufficient incomes to save if they wished to do so. However, they see the consumption levels of the West and are psychologically unable to save because they feel that they must imitate the Westerners (see Nurske, 1953:Chap. 3; and Kindleberger, 1958:82-83).

3. The vicious circle of inadequate markets, or inadequate demand to justify investment in improved methods (see Kindleberger, 1958:Chap. 6).

4. The lump of capital argument, that economic growth can occur only when there is sufficient social overhead capital available. Economic growth cannot occur in more low-income countries because they do not have extra capital available to invest in the development of projects which are expensive, but which, nevertheless, serve as a base for the establishment of other industries (see Singer, 1949:6; and Rosenstein-Roldan, 1961).[6]

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[6] Note: this listing and reference to works cited may be found in Hagen (1962:37-47).

Some people have argued that high rates of population growth have swamped the technological progress which might have raised the level of income in underdeveloped nations. Hagen disputes this theory and points out that, of the low-income countries outside Latin America, two which give the most marked signs of beginning economic growth are very densely populated. They are China and India (Hagen, 1959).

However, it should be noted that economists usually acknowledge the influence of noneconomic factors on growth:

> In my view the greatly accelerated economic development of the last 200 years--the rise of modern capitalism--can only be explained in terms of changing human attitudes to risk-taking and profit-making. . . . The emergence of the "business enterprise" characteristic of modern capitalism was thus the cause rather than the result of changes in the modes of production; and it was the product of social forces that cannot in turn be accounted for by economic and technical factors (Kaldor, 1960:236, as quoted in Hagen, 1962:37).

The ensuing statement follows a declaration that capital formation is at the heart of the problem of economic development:

> We shall do well to keep in mind, however, that this is by no means the whole story. Economic development has much to do with human endowments, social attitudes, political conditions--and historical accidents. Capital is necessary but not a sufficient condition of progress (Nurske, 1953:1; as quoted in Hagen, 1962:37).

It should be noted, according to Hagen, that virtually without exception, economists make such acknowledgments in passing, then go on to present economic theories of growth as though they were the full and sufficient explanations.

In the change from a traditional society to a modern one, W. W. Rostow has pointed out that there are five stages: the traditional society, developing the preconditions for take-off, the take-off, the drive to maturity, and high mass-consumption (Hagen, 1962:514-22. Cf. Rostow, 1960).

Schumpeter felt that the economy did not grow on its own impetus, but that it was pushed forward in sudden leaps by the activities of key men who wanted to promote new goods and methods of production, or to exploit a new source of materials or a new market. The motivation was not merely the profit incentive, but also included a joy which these entrepreneurs achieve through creation and through competition. Thus Schumpeter's entrepreneur was not entirely a rational, profit-oriented individual (see Schumpeter, 1934).

Economic theorists seem to feel that sources of change in the economic sphere lie outside the system itself. They have noted that important technical inventions have occurred more rapidly in some periods and have spread more rapidly to some countries than to others. Max Weber, in his discussion of the Protestant ethic and the rise of capitalism, "laid the groundwork for efforts to understand the social and psychological origins of such key economic forces as rapid technological advances, specialization of labor, population growth, and energetic entrepreneurship" (McClelland, 1961:11). The modern economist has become even more insistent in his belief that the ultimate forces of economic development lie outside the economic domain (see Meier and Baldwin, 1957:83). Thus, Hagen and the author of the just-cited work do not appear to be in agreement regarding the economists' viewpoint in this matter. However, their basic positions are that the economist realizes that other factors play a role in development. Since they are economists, it is only natural to look for economic causes first, and failing to find a significant cause-effect relationship, some turn to other causes.

As a first step toward recognizing the sociological and psychological factors that set in force the economic factors which produce development, Rostow lists six basic "human motives" or "human propensities" which economic analysis has suggested are important for development. They are:

1. to develop fundamental science
2. to apply science to economic ends
3. to accept innovations
4. to seek material advance
5. to consume
6. to have children (Rostow, 1952:14-15).

Lewis discusses distinctly psychological variables which he feels influence economic growth. He mentions the "desire for goods," which is decreased by asceticism and by values which place little emphasis on economic activity. He also discusses the importance of nonrational psychological variables, such as attitudes toward work and the spirit of adventure (Lewis, 1955; cited in McClelland, 1961: 16).

Sociologists have dealt much more explicitly with the non-economic variables of development than have economists, and for a much longer period of time. Max Weber receives credit for having started this very important contribution in his The Protestant Ethic and the Rise of Capitalism. In addition, he made other significant contributions to the analysis of the social structure of modern industrial and bureaucratic society. These ideas have been elaborated and expanded largely by Parsons and his students. They have concentrated largely on the important structural differences between modern industrialized societies and traditional societies (see Parsons, 1951; Parsons, 1958; and Parsons and Smelser, 1956).

Parsons characterizes developed countries by the prevalence of achievement norms, universalism, and specificity; and underdeveloped countries by ascriptive norms, particularism, and diffuseness. However, McClelland points out that sociological thinking to date has not attempted to bridge the gap between the idealized pattern variables as analytical tools and as social norms present in the minds of men. He attempts this, to a limited degree, in his book, The Achieving Society, already cited. Florence Kluckhohn (1950; and Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961) has likewise taken some steps in this direction.

In contrasting developed and underdeveloped countries, sociologists have often led one to believe that it is the social characteristics of the more developed countries which have caused them to grow more rapidly. Hoselitz (1954:19-42; as cited in McClelland, 1961:17) says that ethnocentricity leads us to believe that other countries must develop in the same manner as we ourselves developed. Earlier sociologists made the same mistake. William Graham Sumner argued boldly that it was specifically the characteristics of the contemporary Protestant ideal which produced economic growth. Hofstadter says he "assumed that the industrious, temperate, and frugal man of the Protestant ideal was the equivalent of the 'strong' or the 'fittest' in the struggle for existence" (Hofstadter, 1955:51).

> The first fact in life is the struggle for existence; the greatest forward step in this struggle is the production of capital, which increases the fruitfulness of labor and provides the necessary means of an advance in civilization. Primitive man, who long ago withdrew from the competitive struggle and ceased to accumulate capital goods, must pay with a backward and unenlightened way of life . . . Physical inheritance is a vital part of the Darwinian theory; the social equivalent of physical inheritance is the instruction of the children in the necessary economic virtues (Hofstadter, 1955:58, quote from Sumner, no reference given).

These and many other sociologists followed the theme of what _is_ and what _ought_ to be. Modern sociologists have not been so apt to commit the error, although it is sometimes difficult to avoid. Some have suggested that the separation of ownership and control in the American society was a structural change that provided an impetus for further economic development. This occurred more in the United States than in France, and the United States developed more rapidly than France. This could be an accidental, rather than an essential factor in economic growth (Parsons and Smelser, 1956:252ff.). Hoselitz says that "we may better begin by developing theoretical models for different types of societies in different types of transition or movements from 'traditional' to more 'modern' forms of economic organization" (Hoselitz, 1955). In other words, more description is necessary.

Everett E. Hagen, in his book, _On the Theory of Social Change_, weaves an intricate, eclectic web using social, economic, and anthropological theories, in which he attempts to point toward a theory of social change. His basic interest was "Why have the people of some societies entered upon technological progress sooner or more effectively than others?" (Hagen, 1962:ix). He decided that differences in human behavior were perhaps more important than economic factors in determining which country would develop faster. He came to this conclusion only after he noted that some countries had ideal economic conditions for development, yet did not appear to be progressing. He says:

> In the countries in which the transition to economic growth has occurred it has been concomitant with far-reaching change in political organization, social structure, and attitudes toward life. The relationship is so striking that to assume that one of these aspects of basic social change is unrelated to the others is to strain the doctrine of coincidence beyond all warrant (Hagen, 1962:26).

Hagen states that the relationships between personality and social structure are such as to make it clear that social change will not occur without change in personalities. He consequently contrasts the creative personality and the authoritarian personality. Economic development demands an individual with a creative personality, which comes about as a result of small changes in child-rearing by authoritarian parents, and which may require several generations to be brought out.

It is the nature of a traditional society to have a stable structure and functioning. Therefore, any change which is brought about must have its origin in powerful disruptive sources.

According to Hagen, the basic cause of changed needs, values, and cognitions is the perception on the part of the members of a social group that their purposes and values in life are not respected by groups in the society whom they respect and whose esteem they value (see Hagen, 1957; and 1958). This phenomenon he calls "withdrawal of status respect." It comes about through four types of events: change in the power structure, derogation of institutionalized activity without change in the power structure, contradiction among status symbols, and nonacceptance of expected status on migration to a new society.

It is suggested that withdrawal of status is a powerful disruptive factor in the dissolving of social ties. Groups whose members feel that the classes above them no longer have a decent regard for their purpose in life will lose their contentment with the traditional society. They will, in Merton's terms, retreat (Merton, 1957), and in their children and grandchildren will be bred personality changes that contain the seeds of social change, through a change to a creative personality.

However, if the social change that occurs is to be a transition to economic growth, then it is necessary that values conducive to technological innovation and other activities pertinent to economic growth appear in the personality. Thus arises an individual from a family of retreatists with a higher degree of creativity and, specifically, higher need for achievement and need for autonomy. His values and life purposes are rejected by the elite. Therefore, if he can renounce certain elite values, and at the same time accept others which offer him a greater possibility of achieving a higher status than his father's, he may find it possible, or even essential, to break loose.

Thus he may be able to find a group which does not threaten him, whose values are respected by the group which disparages him, and whose role in life is not closed to him. If he can adopt their values and some aspects of their ways of life, then he has a promising solution to the problem of withdrawal of status respect. If some of their values which he adopts are conducive to social change, then he may become an innovator.

McClelland has hypothesized that a particular psychological factor, the need for achievement, is responsible for economic growth and decline. He believes that the forces of economic development lie largely in man himself--in his fundamental motives and in the way he organizes his relationships to his fellow man (McClelland, 1961:3). He interprets Weber's argument for the connection between Protestantism and the rise of capitalism in terms of a revolution in the family, which leads to more sons with strong achievement drives. His viewpoint is supported in part by a study by Winterbottom (1953:468-472).

There have been a number of "stage theories" of development. One of them is the theory of demographic transition. The following is a type of theory based on that of demographic transition. The first stage is that of social lethargy. It is characterized by exceedingly low levels of aspirations and achievements of improved styles of life. Proponents of this view argue that the low degree of aspiration and achievement results from an extremely low level of economic development and, therefore, levels of consumption which barely satisfy subsistence requirements. Lethargy is a result of the lack of both physical and social energy.

The second stage, that of aspirations explosion, witnesses a slight economic development which increases minimally the opportunity for achievement while maximally stimulating aspirations. The slight economic development which has occurred in turn stimulates all kinds of desires. However, the great bulk of these new aspirations cannot be satisfied because they are disproportionate to the available opportunities. The frustration of aspirations often leads to political instability and violence.

In the last stage, the stage of balance, achievements are brought into some balance with aspirations, if and when the society is able to progress to more economic development and satisfy aspirations. This final stage is characterized by high levels of both aspiration and achievement, and results in a new form of political and social stability (Feldman, 1965).

## The Development of Underdeveloped Countries

Social and economic development is the aim of practically all the nations in the world today. However, the development process is a slow one for many countries--so slow that it can hardly be perceived. Others are developing only slightly faster, while a few are surging forward rapidly. This move toward economic development is a part of a worldwide struggle to escape from poverty, misery, neglect, and the anonymity which have heretofore been life for a vast majority of the world's inhabitants.

But economic development is not merely a struggle against poverty. It is primarily a process through which the social, political, and economic institutions are being reshaped for the great majority of mankind (Heilbroner, 1963:9-10).

Heilbroner points out some of the problems to be encountered on the road to development. (1) He notes first, as have others, that economic development is not primarily an economic but a political and social process. Development requires social change as well as changes in the economic system. (2) The political and social changes required for economic development are likely to be revolutionary in nature. The class structure of the nation must necessarily be changed, sometimes radically. Thus there is a revolutionary potential in development--revolutionary in the sense that it involves a drastic redistribution of power and wealth and of their appurtenances. (3) Economic development is likely to lead to discontent and disorganization as people are not able to achieve what they expected to, especially in the lower and middle classes. The upper classes may be dissatisfied because of changes in the social and power structures which divest them of former privileges which they must relinquish as such changes occur. (4) Success in the quest for development is not inevitable, and, in fact, only some nations may attain a significant measure thereof. (5) The price of economic development is apt to be political and economic authoritarianism (Heilbroner, 1963:16-21). It should be noted that the economic handicap, although not the ultimate cause of underdevelopment, is a great one to the world's underdeveloped countries.

Changes in a system are often accompanied by great social tensions. Agricultural reform in a country where landownership has long been the foundation of social status represents a profound change of the economic and power bases. In fact, at times land reform has come about only through violent revolution, as in Bolivia and Guatemala. Land reform is not the only source of friction. The rise of trade unions and their demands for higher wages likewise create problems in many countries. Although people in the lower classes may experience slight increases in their incomes, their relative position is often damaged. These and other sources of social friction mean that development is not always welcome.

How about development in Latin America? Population explosion alarmists point out that economic growth in Latin America must be at very high rates if it is to outstrip population growth. They say that a country must save and invest 3 percent of the national income for each 1 percent population growth per year merely to maintain a stable income per inhabitant. Furthermore, if their population is growing by 2 percent per year and they wish to achieve an annual income growth of 1 percent per year per inhabitant, they must save and invest at least 9 percent of the national annual income. The figure jumps to 15 percent savings and investment with a yearly population growth of 3 percent, which is still slightly less than the yearly population increase in most of Latin America (Jones, 1962).

To be sure, all of the countries to the south of the United States are undergoing changes in their social, economic, and political systems. These changes, some of them desired by some people and some of them not desired, are creating bewilderment and confusion. Anomie is often a result of some of these basic changes and a cause of still other changes. While changes cannot even be measured in many places, the sweep of basic change cannot be mistaken.

Gillin points out at least four ways in which change is affecting the lives of Latin Americans. (1) The relations between primitive tribal groups and the rest of the nation (which is often urbanizing fairly rapidly) are changing. (2) Indians are changing their styles of life over to the more sophisticated ways of the whites. This generally means an upward movement at least in an economic sense, and often in a social sense as well. (3) Urbanization and industrialization are both occurring rapidly in Latin America. Although agriculture is still Latin America's chief industry, large towns and some small places with urban characteristics are growing rapidly in size, and, in the meantime, they are building more and more factories. (4) As a result of the aforementioned changes, changes also are occurring in the attitudes of both governments and peoples toward the United States (Gillin, 1961).

The traditional class system in Latin America has consisted of only two classes--a land-owning aristocracy and a lower class composed mainly of peasants and domestic servants. Lyman Bryson (1961:7) points out in the introduction to Social Change in Latin America Today that a middle class (a "middle mass," to use Gillin's phraseology) has not been needed in most of the poor countries. A middle class, according to him, is produced by a demand for more economic and technological activity and is required for the further progress of the class.

Gillin notes that the members of the emerging middle class in Latin America are developing effective leadership and power. They are using modern means of communication and are receptive to the ideas which are presented therein. However, they face these new ideas equipped with their own peculiar tradition of values.

Latin American feudalism, with the emotional dependence of the _peones_ on their _patrones_ and strong personal bonds among persons of rigidly marked class differences, is a pattern which is deeply ingrained and will be difficult to change.

Likewise other basic values are deeply seated and slow to change. Regardless of shifts in urban living, Gillin denotes nine basic values which will likely be carried over by people as they ascend from the lower classes into middle-class life. They are: personal dignity, strength of family ties, social hierarchy, materialism, transcendentalism, fatalism, a strong sense of propriety or decency in mode of life, and a scorn for manual labor. Nevertheless, dramatic changes in the areas of demography and population, social structure and economic life, religion, political life, and international relations are taking place. These turbulent changes are reshaping some of the older patterns of values and new ones are emerging (Gillin, 1961).

An example of social change in values which has occurred through modernization can be drawn from Peru. There is hardly a place in this traditional society which has not been touched to some degree by the technological revolution. Political power is shifting from the landed aristocracy to the commercial _hacendado_ and the new entrepreneurial class. Industrialization has brought about the demand for a more mobile changing society.

More and better roads are opening new markets to the Indians of Peru's sierras, and this likewise means they are more mobile. Greatly increased geographical mobility leads many of the younger

Indians to move to the coast to better employment opportunities and higher levels of living. Many of them recast themselves as mestizos, thus enjoying a subsequent higher social status.

It has been found that when Indians in the sierras can break the chains which bind them to the latifundio and live in greater independence and freedom, then changes in attitudes, values, and behavior occur more rapidly. The Vicos experiment vividly points out change of this type. These changes occurred in Vicos, an hacienda which was known for its conservatism and hostility to the outside world. In fact, before the Vicos experiment began in 1952, this hacienda had undergone little change since its establishment over 400 years before. The community has now been completely transformed through a program of planned social change (Holmberg, 1961).

The Chaco War was a catalyst for rapid social change in Bolivia, where the Indians had long been serfs in a feudalistic system. However, when they were drafted as soldiers, they fought alongside people from a world largely unknown to them, travelled, and used new technology. The equilibrium was thus disturbed, but it remained for the revolution of 1952 to destroy the foundations of the traditional society.

Bolivia is still an extremely underdeveloped country, but many changes in its social structure have been brought about since the 1952 revolution. The Bolivian Indians were socially immobile and uneducated, and they were held back by religious values and by secular nonstriving values which tended to maintain the status quo. They were barely able to maintain themselves even at a very poverty-stricken level. Persons interested in changing the traditional system had been met with almost insurmountable cultural fatalism, dependency, and conservatism which prevented planning for future improvement. However, the 1952 revolution has brought about some changes in the Indians' way of life. The Indian campesinos have become a decisive force on the national scene as they slowly free themselves from the traditional feudalistic, caste-like, system.

It should be noted that the process of social change in Bolivia has been very gradual, and not a sharp transition. There is a trend toward the secularization of customs and attitudes. Furthermore, there is evidence of a decline of fatalism among the campesinos, and a spread of the concept of equality of opportunities. They are reshaping the value system in such a manner that it is beginning to point away from the older social system and is being based more on personal achievement (Patch, 1961).

In Brazil, crisis appears to be the order of the day. Inflation is rampant, and crises afflict almost every facet of Brazilian life--transportation, food supply, water, electricity, and schools. These crises emphasize the shifting alignment of social classes and the appearance of new social and economic groups as factors in the process of transformation occurring in Latin America's largest country. It is somewhere in the process of becoming a modern, industrial, urban-centered, capitalistic society--markedly different from the former essentially agrarian, rural, semifeudal, and patriarchal society.

Some of the specific changes pointed out by Wagley (1961:189-208) are: (1) Population growth and new cities--a result of the "push-pull" factor. (2) Internal migration and immigration from abroad--since 1900, Brazil has received over four million immigrants from abroad. (3) Development of modern means of communication. (4) Industrialization and agricultural technology. (5) Increasing purchasing power--despite the rising inflation. (6) A major revolution in education--at all levels, although more than half the population was illiterate in 1950. (7) The developing political situation.

In the south of Brazil especially, traditional values are being left behind, the traditional class system is being changed as the middle class grows, and social organization is rapidly being modified. However, a new set of values and a new set of social institutions have not yet appeared to replace those of traditional Brazil (Wagley, 1961).

Genuine social revolutions are rare in Latin America. Leaders of most uprisings, when they come into power, do not effect real structural changes. However, the Bolivian example mentioned above qualifies as a real revolution, as does the Guatemalan revolution of 1944. The then newly elected president of Guatemala, Juán José Arévalo, embarked on a vigorous program of social, economic, and political reforms.

Today in Guatemala change is occurring at an ever-accelerating rate. While most theorists assume that changes take place first in technology, followed by those in the social, economic and political spheres, the reverse is true in Guatemala. Change first appeared in the political sector and afterwards in the other sectors.

Guatemala has traditionally had two major social classes--the Indians and the Ladinos, the latter having several social classes, one of which is the emergent middle class. In Guatemala, there is a process called Ladino-ization through which Indians gain new statuses by adopting the dress, language, food, and the like of the Ladinos.

Two aspects of change stand out in the Guatemalan situation. One is a change-over of the nation from a more or less discontinuous set of regional cultures to an evolving nationalistic culture. The second is that this change is being initiated in the political and social realms rather than through changes in production and technology. Another important factor is the role played by the new middle class in propelling the changes.

The Indian culture is being undermined by political and religious demands on the social organization, technical and economic demands in agriculture and handicrafts, and public health and resettlement demands on the individual. The traditional Ladinos are likewise facing adjustments through the introduction of new crops and fertilizers, a new religious ferment, new definitions of illness and cure, and new political organizations (Adams, 1961a).

Since about 1940, rapid social change has been occurring in Mexico, our neighbor immediately to the south, according to Oscar Lewis (1961). Industrialization and increased production began in earnest, and the government encouraged foreign investment. Rapid rates of population increase and urbanization have also occurred over the same period of time. The rapid rate of natural population increase has been offset to a degree by a tremendous emigration, while urbanization is more a result of population pressures on natural resources than the positive aspects of urban life. Nevertheless, increasing industrialization does provide better employment opportunities, better educational facilities, greater conveniences, and a generally higher standard of living.

Influence of the northern neighbor, the United States, is being felt in Mexico's rural, as well as urban, areas. This is caused by our proximity, our industrial reputation, improved means of communication and transportation, and the growth of a Mexican middle class modeled after ours. Mexican society is becoming increasingly "Gringo-ized" in many respects.

Industry has improved to a considerable degree since 1940, but the advances in agriculture are even more impressive. Agriculture has managed to hold its own in a rapidly expanding economy and has outstripped Mexico's population growth. It has gone a long way toward changing over from a predominantly subsistence agriculture to a market economy through expansion into land not formerly utilized, increased use of irrigation in more areas, more use of better fertilizers and improved varieties of seed, increased mechanization, and larger holdings on which improved methods of cultivation are being used.

The social structure has evidenced some changes, too. In fact, the growth of the middle class has been the most important aspect of the steady modification of the Mexican class structure (Lewis, 1961).

Thus, it can be seen that social change and development are interrelated and that they are occurring in varying degrees in some of the Latin American countries. Prospects for the future are difficult to assess, but on the basis of past and present happenings we might anticipate a future brighter than the past.

## Social Change and Development in Colombia

Social change and development likewise have occurred in Colombia. The present writer knows of no general, overall study of the development which is occurring. Nevertheless, an attempt will be made to report on a majority of writings on Colombia which concern social change and development.

### Social Change in Colombia

Modern industry in Colombia began early in this century. In 1901, the Manuelita sugar refinery began operation near the town of Palmira, in the department of El Valle (Hagen, 1962:354; see Eder, 1959). In 1906 the Compañia Colombiana de Tejidos (Coltejer) opened a modern textile factory in Medellín which has since become one of the largest manufacturing concerns in Latin America. Industrialization has occurred fairly rapidly since this relatively late beginning, although one certainly would not be greatly overwhelmed by its rate. Nevertheless, Hagen (1962) notes that few countries of the world have experienced higher rates of increase in per capita income than has Colombia in the past 40 years. Especially significant is the fact that the rise of industry came about despite the obstacle of extremely mountainous terrain, taking place most notably in three areas separated by great mountain barriers.

Smith (1967) points out that social change is the order of the day in Colombia, but that only a very small part of the transformation under way is actually planned and directed. In fact, most of it is quite haphazard. The Colombian social system has been, and still is, based upon large estates, but rapid urbanization is gradually changing this pattern. Many of the large landowners are now changing over to large-scale mechanized extensive farming. Additionally, the emergence of a middle class is, according to Smith, a very recent alteration in the country's social structure (Smith, 1967:373-375).

One possible source of change and development at the national level is pressure groups. Their roles have been varied, as have their successes. One notable success was a campaign which led to the ousting of the dictator Rojas Pinilla. Pressure groups could be influential in future social and economic developments as well (see Sanclemente Molina, 1965; and Los Grupos de Presión en Colombia, 1964).

Education has been a traditional means of achieving the upward social mobility and the changes in the class structure which Smith has pointed out are coming about in Colombia. However, it was noted in a recent study that the educational system in Colombia is more oriented toward maintaining than altering the status quo of the present class system (Rodríguez, 1967).

The tourist trade--the "industry without smokestacks," or the "landscape industry,"--is now emerging in Colombia. Certain areas are utilizing internal as well as external tourism in order to stimulate the local economy. Indeed, many countries have built their economic prosperity in large part on the tourist trade. The United States furnishes more than one third of the temporary visitors to Colombia, while the remainder of Latin America furnishes slightly more than this number. It is even suggested by some that the economy might be bolstered through augmenting the tourist industry (Andrade Martínez, 1967).

Colombia has received much adverse publicity from the _Violencia_ (violence), robberies and murders which have been occurring in recent years in certain parts of the country. Sociologists have noticed the phenomenon and have attempted to analyze it and the resultant social change. As of 1962, it was estimated that about 200,000 people had been killed in the Violencia and that property damage amounted to millions of dollars. Basic changes in values and institutions have been experienced and have not yet run their full course. Of course, the Violencia must be recognized generally as an impediment to development (see Fals Borda, 1962a and 1967; Torres Restrepo, 1963; Williamson, 1969; Daniel, n.d.; Gaitán Mahecha, 1966; Guzmán, et al., 1962; and Caplow, 1963).

### Regional Studies of Social Change in Colombia

A few studies of social change deal with some of the regions of Colombia. The following is an attempt to summarize the most important. Antonio and Jeanne Posada report on an attempt to effect planned socioeconomic change in their book _CVC: Un Reto al Subdesarrollo y al Tradicionalismo_ (1966). While the book is not precisely a study of change, it is a report of planned change on a more or less regional basis. They report that the Corporación Autonóma Regional del Cauca (CVC) is an entity of decentralized and autonomous administration which was created in 1954 in the departments of Cauca and El Valle. Designed to promote an integrated development of the region's resources, the program has three major parts: (1) supplying electric power to the entire region, which has accelerated notably the growth of industrialization; (2) land recuperation--projects such as flood control, irrigation, and drainage of swamps and other low-lying areas; and (3) raising of the level of living among the rural peasant population through the diffusion of proven modern methods of production. The CVC's programs have produced changes in the political power structure, as well as in the economic. Furthermore, it has effected changes in the social structure, inasmuch as it has reduced the almost monopolistic control of the latifundistas and industrialists. Small farmers and small industries have been aided, and evaluators of the program say that it has stimulated more cooperative attitudes among the people (Posada and Posada, 1966).

Economic growth in Colombia, according to Hagen, did not begin for the reasons conventionally advanced by economists. It did not begin because of foreign investments, contacts with foreign goods and technology, and/or the development of social overhead capital. Rather, it occurred in spite of many economic barriers.

Hagen credits the enterprise of the Antioqueños (people from the Department of Antioquia) with having begun economic growth in Colombia. Their predominance in administrative positions in the nation's most important industrial enterprises is impressive. Their original advantage was not an economic one--in fact, other regions of the country which grew at much slower rates enjoyed greater economic advantages. Hagen attributes the economic prowess of the Antioqueños in part to their creative personalities. Entrepreneurs in Medellín (capital of Antioquia) were found to be of the Schumpeterian type. Twenty of them were administered the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT), in which they projected their own attitudes in interpreting various pictures. Their responses typically embodied:

> (a) a perception of a problem to be solved, (b) awareness that to be solved a problem must be worked at (absence of any fantasy of magic success), (c) confidence in their own ability to solve it (though sometimes tension and anxiety are also present), (d) a tendency to take the viewpoint of each individual in turn and analyze the situation as he might see it before suggesting an outcome, rather than to adopt a formula identification with any one type of character--with the old versus the young, the young versus the old, and so on (Hagen, 1962:368).

They manifested high need for achievement and need for order. In addition they quickly sensed the realities of a situation and saw the world as manageable with good judgment and hard work.

The test was given to a similar sample of entrepreneurs in Popayán, reported to be a very traditionalistic city. They gave responses which were intellectually more complex.

> They associated a picture with something in literature or the arts, philosophized about the ways of youth, were led into speculation about the course of history--but tended to see no problems in the situations pictured. Or, if they saw problems, they had formula solutions for them ("the old know best; he should listen to his father"), or visualized success without any suggestion that it would entail effort and pain.

> Frequently they gave the impression of running away from the possibility that they might be facing a problem, as though it made them uneasy; they veered away to some peripheral aspect of the picture. They found it easy to turn to fantasy or reverie not closely connected with reality. They showed low need autonomy, achievement, and order; saw the world as not manageable, one's position as given (Hagen, 1962:369).

Other reasons that Hagen pointed out for the Antioqueños' being more innovative with respect to economic growth were: ethnic differences--a higher proportion of Basque names than in other regions of Colombia; mining experiences--mines sometimes failed so they formed companies of several families to reduce the risks; developments in trading--while in other regions the people invested their earnings in land, the Antioqueños, lacking this opportunity, invested in industry; and social tensions--withdrawal of status respect from the Antioqueños. No doubt, a combination of these factors explains the predominance of the Antioqueños in economic entrepreneurship (see Hagen, 1962:367-383).

In a study by Father Gustavo Jiménez Cadena (1967a; see also Jiménez Cadena, 1965 and 1967b) in the departments of Cundinamarca and Boyacá, it was found that the parish priest is a key figure in effecting social change in rural areas. However, it was earlier stated that the Catholic church in Colombia was one of the world's most conservative (Haddox, 1965). It actually was said to brake educational programs and the diffusion of agricultural technology. Others have underlined the importance of the rural parish priest as being a principal decisive factor in the success or failure in social action programs (Torres and Corredor, 1961:54). Researchers from the University of Wisconsin's Land Tenure Center found him important as a legitimizer in social change programs. Unless the priest backs it, a project may be considered contrary to community values (Adams and Havens, n.d.:7). Elsewhere, it was found that besides being a legitimizer, the priest was sometimes an active change agent (Havens, 1966:114-116).

## Community Studies of Social Change

Parra (1967) notes that studies on a community level may be advantageous in attaining better understanding of the process of social change in Colombia (see also Smith, 1959:14). Lipman, in his study of entrepreneurs in Bogotá, says that the innovators who break with traditionalism in order to condition social change are the economic entrepreneurs. He also calls the entrepreneur the central figure in modern economic development and even in the economy (Lipman, 1966). Another writer mentions that the process of change from a traditional society to an industrial society in Columbia is causing greater social mobility in Bogotá. This phenomenon is occurring because the industrialization process is breaking down social class barriers, thus permitting more upward social mobility. This process has occurred because personnel in the liberal professions, and especially those in managerial and administrative jobs, are having to be recruited from classes lower than those from which people occupying these positions normally come (Ordóñez, 1967).

Fals Borda, in his well-known study of Saucío, found that a new dam which was being built nearby was a cause of social change in the small town. Many people who worked on the dam had the privilege of using the company doctor, which finally resulted in a gradual dis-use of folk-cultural remedies by many of the people. Thus they were healthier and more able to work, and their level of living rose. The dam construction caused them to be more progressive in their outlook, partly because their work yielded ready cash. Some people remodeled small taverns and a few houses to accommodate employees of the construction project who came from other areas. Meanwhile, their agricultural enterprise, once the staff of life of the Saucites, suffered neglect because of the time and energies they expended in working on the dam. The workers became more familiar with new and advanced social legislation, and many moved to urban areas when the dam was finished. Those Saucites who did remain in the community were more prosperous than before (Fals Borda,1962a and 1955).

Havens studied directed social change in the Antioquian community of Támesis. In this community he found conditions sufficient, if not essential, to realize development: (1) Because of the manner in which the colonization of lands proceeded in this zone, latifundismo was never prevalent. (2) Since the region was colonized as a frontier agricultural zone, those who wanted to enter it were different from those who stayed behind. The acceptance of risks and of being geographically mobile was converted into a desirable norm of conduct for its residents, aiding them to improve their own positions. (3) Although property values are high, the economic structure provides alternative opportunities for those individuals who wish to seek new ways of earning a living.

(4) Sources of information and credit are available for agricultural production and have been used by the people of the community. (5) The authority structure as embodied in the church and the family has reinforced incentives toward change. (6) Voluntary associations have always been a part of the social structure and, at least to a certain degree, these associations have been effective in obtaining instrumental objectives. (7) Those who participate in voluntary associations have confidence in the government and in their fellow citizens (Havens, 1966:175-176).

These conditions exist in other regions of Colombia, and those are the places where social change has occurred. Thus, they are sufficient, although not necessarily essential, for producing social change, says Havens (1966).

In another study which included Támesis and the community of Contadero, a rural community in the department of Nariño, it was found that people living in the former were more favorable to social change. Their scores on the Attitudes toward Social Change Scale were significantly related to: general knowledge, contributions to community programs, adoption of hygiene items, frequency of radio listening, frequency of newspaper reading, and inversely with degree of *anomie* (Whittenbarger, 1966).

Rionegro, also in Antioquia, typically has been a traditional, rustic community. However, it is now experiencing the shock of a relatively rapid industrialization. A by-product of the industrialization of Rionegro, as in many other parts of the world, has been a certain degree of anomie. Direct causes of the phenomenon in

Rionegro include underemployment and unemployment and the lack of adaptation to a new kind of work in a factory. Furthermore, the little community has witnessed a changeover from a primary to a secondary group, complete with secondary controls. Social statuses have changed as social distances have been altered. Anomie has likewise resulted because of loyalty to traditional values (Vélez Arango and Peláez Taborda, 1967).

Candelaria is a rural community located near Cali in the department of El Valle. Many changes have followed the establishment there of an experimental health center by the medical school of the Universidad del Valle in Cali. Mortality rates, especially infant mortality rates, have plummeted. The general state of health of the people has improved since the health center was constructed. Healthier people mean happier people, people who can spend more days working to increase their level of living. Aspirations of the Candelarians have risen, and the tempo of life of the community has been changed through the influence of the outside entity.

Parra studied the community in 1962 and 1963. He found that social change in Candelaria follows these general lines: (1) toward structural differentiation and functional specialization; (2) toward greater integration of the community with the larger social system; and (3) toward a growing adaptation to the general environment (Parra Sandoval, 1966:124).

Guatavita was a very traditional rural community of some 6,500 people dedicated to farming. In 1961, precipitous social change was initiated with the building of a dam which would require the flooding of Guatavita, forcing the entire community to be moved by a specified deadline. Naturally, the people were opposed to the dam's construction, since they were inconvenienced, while others benefited from the dam. Most of them had been born there, and naturally were not eager to see their home covered by a large lake, even in the name of progress.

The construction company had made excellent plans for the dam, but not so for the people who would be forced to leave their homes and farms. A new town was built for them, but their traditional beliefs and sentiments have made it difficult for them to adapt to new ways of life, and many have consequently moved into Bogotá and other, smaller urban centers (see Betancur, *et al.*, 1965; and "Guatavita," 1963).

Some of the effects of the Colombian Violencia have already been mentioned. Its effects on a given community are indicated in a case study of the community of Líbano, in the department of Tolima, which was hit hard by the disorders. At the time of the study, approximately 51 percent of the population of the county seat of Líbano were rural residents who had been forced to move from their original homes, because of the Violencia. Economic and social maladjustment have resulted, interpersonal relations which had existed for many years have been broken, and faith has been shattered. In short, social disorganization and the resultant anomie have occurred (Pineda Giraldo, 1963).

Several studies of innovation and adoption of farm practices have been carried out in Colombia. In Saucío, it was found that the basic pattern of diffusion and adoption of new farm practices was substantially the same as in the United States (Deutschmann and Fals Borda, 1962). An investigation in some rural communities in the departments of Cundinamarca, Boyacá, Antioquia, and Caldas was conducted in order to determine the effects of the press, the radio, and fliers as communications media in a diffusion program. The same amounts of material were to be used in each community. However, in some communities, local expressions and specific accents were to be used, while in others the language was to be rather impersonal. After the beginning of the study, in some communities some local leaders became interested in the campaign and used loud speakers to begin their own supportive campaigns. This method was more effective than any of the planned ones, and was more effective still when coupled with other methods (García, *et al.*, 1967). In a study of factors affecting the communication process in the vereda of Jamundí, in the *municipio* of Girardota, Antioquia, it was recommended that change agents should bring about an awareness of the mass media as an information source. The prime source of information for these people was found to be friends and neighbors (McNamara, *et al.*, n.d. See Adams and Havens, n.d.; and Willems, 1963).

The communities of Pueblo Viejo, San Rafáel and Cuatro Esquinas, in Cundinamarca, and Nazate and La Canadá, in Nariño, have been the subjects of many studies. The studies relate opinion leadership to such factors as: functional literacy, size of landholdings, farm ownership, farm and home innovativeness, social status, achievement motivation, mass media exposure, radio listening, newspaper reading, empathy, knowledgeability of public issues, cosmopolitanism, age, attitude toward credit, opinionatedness, and fatalism (see Rogers and van Es, 1964; Stickley, 1964; Rogers and Neill, 1964; Bonilla de Ramos, 1964; van Es, 1964; Portocarrero, 1966; Bonilla de Ramos, 1966; Ramos, 1966; Rogers, 1965-66; Rogers and Herzog, 1966; and Rogers, 1964).

## Elements of Social Change

Various theories of social change and development have been reviewed in this chapter. It has been noted that different writers have stressed different aspects of the processes involved in the changeover of a nation from a traditional to a modern society.

Yet no basic agreement has been reached. How does social change actually begin in a country like Colombia? Hagen attributed importance to different types of personality systems among people living in Medellín and in Popayán; other writers have stressed other factors. Nevertheless there seems to be a more or less general consensus among social scientists and economists as well that the people's basic values and attitudes are important factors in determining their behavior in the various spheres of their lives.

Chapter 3 of this dissertation focuses on values and their importance in social change.

# CHAPTER 3

# VARIATIONS IN VALUE ORIENTATIONS

For more than a century and a half, scholars in the social sciences and humanities have emphasized the role of values as criteria in making choices between and among alternative courses of action. The study of values has occupied the time, energies, and thinking of many people during this time. Sociologists in particular have generally accorded a fairly significant role to values in their attempts to understand and predict human behavior, especially since the 1920's. At the beginning of this chapter, we should note that it is not the purpose here to review the tremendous amount of literature related to values,[1] but merely to provide a few indications as to the nature of the phenomenon.

Since W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki (1918-20) published in 1918 the first systematic treatment of the notion of values in the United States, countless numbers of pages concerning the concept have been written. These two early theorists saw values as consisting of

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[1] An excellent bibliography on values is Albert and Kluckhohn's (1959). Included in the work are more than 2000 entries selected from a group of more than 6000 possible notations. This should give the reader some idea as to the abundance of publications related to values.

" . . . more or less explicit and formal rules of behavior by which the group tends to maintain, to regulate, and to make more general and more frequent the corresponding types of actions among its members" (Kolb, 1957:94).

Later sociologists have used the concept of values extensively but have modified it down through the years.[2] If one reads from the various fields of study, he finds values considered variously as

> . . . attitudes, motivations, objects, measureable quantities, substantive areas of behavior, affect-laden customs or traditions, and relationships such as those between individuals, groups, objects, events. The only general agreement is that values somehow have to do with normative as opposed to existential propositions (Clyde Kluckhohn, 1951:390).[3]

A more or less current definition of values which is presented as representative is: "A value is a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action" (Clyde Kluckhohn, 1951:395). This definition is presented as a combination of several frames of reference, not as an attempt to settle the controversy over the ultimate meaning of the concept.[4]

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[2] For a discussion of the development of, and different approaches to, values, see Albert and Kluckhohn (1959:94-131). Dukes (1955) presents a bibliography of psychological values studies, and groups them by measurements of values, individual differences in values, and their development. For a treatment of the origin and assumptions of contemporary value theory in philosophy, see Kurtz (1952:47-69).

[3] Examples of the use of the term values in sociology may be found in Adler (1956:272-279) and Case (1939:403-430).

[4] For a detailed description of the development of, and problems concerned with, the value-concept, see Kolb (1957:93-111).

The great quantity of writings dealing with the concept of values may be interpreted as a measure of the importance of the phenomenon in explaining and predicting human behavior. Indeed, Burgess has said that " . . . the essential data for sociological research are values" (Burgess, 1954:16). As early as 1935, Talcott Parsons (1935:282-316) argued, from a positivistic viewpoint, that values do have a place in sociology. Kolb (1957:111-131) discusses the place of the value concept in sociological theory.

Several social scientists have endeavored to isolate, identify, and list the central or core values of people in the United States. Among them have been Robin Williams, Jr. (1970:452-500), John F. Cuber, et al. (1964:396), Alvin L. Bertrand (1967:82-85), Lee Coleman (1941:492-499), and Cora DuBois (1955:1232-1239). Although these basic values have varied in their nomenclature, the lists are more or less comparable. An example is the listing by Robin Williams, Jr. (1970: 452-500), in which he denotes Americans' major "value orientations" as: achievement and success, activity and work, a moral orientation, humanitarian mores, efficiency and practicality, progress, material comfort, equality, freedom, external conformity, science and secular rationality, nationalism-patriotism, democracy, individual personality, and racism and related group superiority themes.

As sociologists, we attempt to measure concepts, and values are no exception. The measurement of values is a fairly recent phenomenon but, unfortunately, is beyond the scope of this report except insofar as description of the measurement technique employed in the present research is concerned. The interested reader is referred to

Adler (1956:272-279), Fallding (1965:223-233), Catton (1956:357-358), Thurstone (1954, 1959), Albert and Kluckhohn (1959), and Scott (1959).

## Values and Social Change

As was pointed out in Chapter 2, economic theorists have long recognized that there is a human factor which is involved in economic development. A large quantity of writings exists which indicate the supposed relation between prevalent societal values and social change (especially as change is intrinsic in the processes of modernization, industrialization, and social and economic development). Proponents of this viewpoint are not arguing the importance of the economic determinants involved in the process of economic development, but are merely stating the principle that satisfactory explanations for differentials in economic behavior are not found in traditional economic theory. These observers have recognized that there are indeed some definite economic factors which are prerequisite to economic growth and development. Yet they have noted societies with apparently equal opportunities, some of which developed and others which did not. Thus, they reason, there must be some other explanation(s) of the phenomenon. The causal factor most often cited is that of values.

Japan and Thailand are countries which have many common features and a similar chronological history of exposure to Western ideas. At one time, it appeared to some that both societies were at approximately equal stages of development and that, assuming all things equal, they should change at an equal rate. However, Japan progressed rapidly, but Thailand did not. In regard to this observation, Ayal (1963:35) says that " . . . changes in political and social institutions, or investments by foreigners, will not, by themselves, bring about sustained economic development, unless the fundamental human values in the society are conducive to development."

Spengler (1961:4) notes that

> the state of a people's politico-economic development, together with its rate and direction, depends largely upon what is in the minds of its members, and above all upon the content of the minds of its elites, which reflects in part, as do civilizations, the conceptions men form of the universe.

He specifically includes values and value orientations as a part of the "content of men's minds," and says,

> Ultimately, . . . the extent to which economic or political development takes place depends very largely upon the orientations of the elements situated in the nonrational world of values and value-orientations--a world existing in the minds of men; thereupon depend what men seek and how they seek it (Spengler, 1961:30).

Especially important in influencing development are the values and value orientations of the elite.

In his action theory, Parsons says that the actor's selection of means to gain the ends is influenced by the value orientations regnant in a society. Furthermore, "development in general takes place when an index of that which is deemed desirable and relatively preferable increases in magnitude" (Spengler, 1961:8).

Other social scientists, such as Neal (1965) and McClelland (1961), have pointed out that value orientations are important prerequisites to development. Thus, given physical-environmental and hereditary conditions, we might say that development would tend to occur at a more rapid rate where the society has a system of values conducive to the selection of development-oriented ends, and when the value orientations of these people are most favorable to the selection of the optimal means to meet these ends (see Rokeach, 1968).

Some writers imply through their usage and interchange of the terms values and value orientations that the two concepts are synonymous. Others use them as distinct entities but do not take the care to distinguish one from the other. Clyde Kluckhohn's definition of values has already been noted in this paper. Several definitions of value orientations will be presented in order to clarify the meaning of the term, since it is a central concept in this dissertation.

Clyde Kluckhohn (1951:409) uses the term value orientation ". . . for those value notions which are (a) general, (b) organized, and (c) include definitely existential judgments. A value-orientation is a set of linked propositions embracing both value and existential elements." Later, he says,

> More formally, a value-orientation may be defined as a generalized and organized conception, influencing behavior, of nature, of man's place in it, of man's relation to man, and of the desirable and nondesirable as they may relate to man-environment and interhuman relations (Clyde Kluckhohn, 1951:411).

Schwarzweller (1959:247) defines the term operationally:

> . . . the empirically measured tendency to react favorably or unfavorably to certain generalized conceptions, such as individualism, familism, security, service to society, and the like. . . . those threads of the individual's conceptual consistency which apparently influence his behavior (verbal) in the situation specified by the measuring instrument.

Similarly, value orientations have been referred to as "systems of meanings," "unconscious canons of choice," "integrative themes," "ethos," and "configurations" (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961:340). Vogt and O'Dea (1953:645) think of value orientations as " . . . those views of the world, often implicitly held, which define the meaning of human life or the 'life situation of man' and thereby provide the context in which day-to-day problems are solved." Hoult (1969:344) defined value orientations in terms of action theory:

> In that part of action theory which is concerned with an actor's mental-emotional position relative to a given situation, those aspects of the position which, where choice is possible, lead the actor to support certain values and to observe forms termed modes (of value-orientation): a) the appreciative mode (use of given standards for judging the gratification significance of phenomena), b) the cognitive mode (use of given standards for judging validity of various ideas, claims, and data), and c) the moral mode (use of given standards for judging the effects of various choices on the integration of self and society).

## Kluckhohn's Theory of Variations in Value Orientations

Florence Kluckhohn is the one who, to my knowledge, has developed the idea of value orientations to its fullest extent, and in the process she has elaborated an instrument to elicit people's value profiles. The theory of variations in value orientations was formulated as she worked toward a systematic ordering of variations within and across cultures. Her method, furthermore, has a potential predictive utility for describing changes in value orientations through time.

Specifically, she defines value orientations as:

> complex but definitely patterned (rank-ordered) principles resulting from the transactional interplay of three analytically distinguishable elements of the evaluative process--

> the cognitive, the affective, and the directive elements--which give order and direction to the ever-flowing stream of human acts and thoughts as these relate to the solution of "common human problems" (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961:4).

or broadly as " . . . a generalized and organized principle concerning basic human problems which pervasively and profoundly influences man's behavior" (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961:341).

Kluckhohn's emphasis on the variation within and between the value orientations of single cultures is an attempt to overcome some of the weaknesses of previous theories of values which did not consider the variability of values and the consequences of this variation. Earlier theories were lax in that they did not permit an analysis of within-culture variation nor systematic cross-cultural comparisons. Furthermore, they stressed heavily the dominant values of a culture, to the neglect of variant values, and thus were static representations which did not reveal the change in values, which is related to the development and direction of social change of other types and in other areas. Thus she emphasizes dealing with the variability which exists in the highly generalized elements of culture, or value orientations. These variations must be studied empirically, if we are in agreement with those (see Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961:1) who insist that the interpretation of concrete behavior must be coupled with a knowledge about assumptions.

Another distinctive characteristic of her theory is an accentuation of the directive element of the evaluative process, thus allowing for a dynamic, integrating, and guiding influence. Previous theories had included only the cognitive and affective aspects and thus lacked the directive element "which is the most crucial for the understanding of both the integration of the total value system and its continuity through time" (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961:9).

There are several basic assumptions underlying Kluckhohn's theory of which note should be taken. The first major assumption is that there is an ordered variation in value orientation systems. Three other, more specific ones are that:

> *There is a limited number of common human problems for which all people at all times must find some solution.* . . . *While there is variability in solutions of all the problems, it is neither limitless nor random but is definitely variable within a range of possible solutions*. . . . All alternatives of all solutions are present in all societies at all times but are differentially preferred. Every society has, in addition to its dominant profile of value orientations, numerous *variant* or *substitute profiles*. Moreover it is postulated that in both the dominant and the variant profiles there is almost always a *rank ordering* of the preferences of the value-orientation alternatives (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961:10; italics in the original).

Five "common human problems" have been defined by Kluckhohn for which the people of any society must find solutions. In question form, these problems are: (1) What is the character of innate human nature? (2) What is the relation of man to nature (and supernature)? (3) What is the significant time dimension? (4) What is the modality of human activity? (In her earlier writings, this problem was stated with reference to the "valid personality type.") (5) What is the modality of man's relation to other men? (See Florence Kluckhohn, 1953a:90, 1953b:342, 1951:102, 1967:85, 1963:222, 1950:378; Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961:11; and Pelzel and Kluckhohn, 1957:54-55.)

Each of these problem areas is the basis for a value orientation, the respective problems representing the (1) human nature,

(2) man-nature, (3) time, (4) activity, and (5) relational orientations.

For each of the orientations, Kluckhohn has posited three alternative means of resolving the "basic human problem" which is represented. Each alternative, in turn, may be viewed as a basic, logical dimension of the larger problematical area. Thus, systematic comparisons on both the inter- and intra-cultural levels can be made, both within the context of changes in the larger culture.

The orientations and their variations for each of these universal problems will be presented in the order corresponding to that of the questions above.

1. Human Nature Orientation

Kluckhohn was concerned here principally with the question of whether human nature is innately evil, good, or a mixture of the two, and whether each of these orientations is in turn mutable or immutable. Thus there are six possible derivations for this area. She believes that this variant case of multiple possibility is probably caused by the interrelationship of this orientation with the others.

2. Man-Nature (-Supernature) Orientation

The three-point range of variation in this orientation, as Kluckhohn (1950:379) admits, is well known to philosophers and cultural historians. The first orientation (each alternative may likewise be referred to as an orientation--Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961:11), called Subjugation to Nature, refers to the fatalistic viewpoint--"When it's my time to die, there's nothing that can be done about it." People with this orientation believe that man can do little or nothing to control diseases, natural disasters, and the like.

People who hold to the Harmony with Nature orientation see no real separation between man, nature, and supernature. They feel that living in harmony with God and with nature will assure their well-being and that troubles arise from the failure to do so.

The Mastery over Nature position is that of those who believe that there is something mankind can do to control or modify the forces of nature, such as floods, diseases, streams, deserts, etc.

3. Time Orientation

This orientation may be seen as: (a) Past, (b), Present, or (c) Future, which are considered to be self-explanatory.

4. Activity Orientation

The range of variations in this case yields the Being, Being-in-Becoming, and Doing orientations, derived in part from the distinction philosophers have often made between Being and Becoming. The classification is roughly similar to that of Charles Morris (1948) who labeled the respective personality components as the Dionysian, the Buddhist, and the Promethean. Kluckhohn, however, deals with concepts which are much more narrowly defined.

The vital principle of the Being alternative is an inclination to express the given part of the personality, and it is nondevelopmental in comparison with the other two variations.

The Being-in-Becoming orientation involves a person's motivation to develop himself and his personality to their fullest extent, and thus incorporates the conception of the developmental process.

The distinguishing feature of the Doing orientation is its emphasis on accomplishment, judged on standards which are external to the individual.

5. Relational Orientation

The relational orientation is concerned with man's relationships with other men. Its three subdivisions are: Lineal, Collateral, and Individualistic. In a somewhat similar fashion, sociologists have long differentiated relatively homogeneous folk societies from the more complex societies by such terms as Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft, rural-urban, traditional-rational-legal, and mechanical-organic solidarity.

Lineally-oriented persons prefer a type of organization which emphasizes a hierarchy of authority and respect. If the Lineal principle is the dominant one in a society, then group goals have primacy over individual goals, and continuity through time is strongly emphasized. An ordered positional succession within the group is another major consideration.

In the Collateral orientation, group goals again have primacy, but without the strong emphasis on continuity and lineal relationships. Sports teams with good teamwork are an example of the Collateral principle.

Individualistic means that individual goals have prime importance with relation to group goals. One is made to think immediately of the American emphasis on achievement, especially of the individual type.

Kluckhohn states that man's conception of space and his place in it is a sixth "common human problem" which belongs in the theory of variations in value orientations. Unfortunately, the orientation and its variations have not been developed sufficiently to include in her presentations of the theory.

The United States middle class is believed by Kluckhohn to have the following orientations: Future time orientation, Doing activity orientation, Mastery over Nature man-nature orientation, and Individual relational orientation. In her study of a Spanish-American village in New Mexico, she found the dominant profile to be: Subjugation to nature, Present time, Being as the modality of activity, and Individual with respect to relationships to other men (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961:12-19).

Some of these combinations tend to be internally consistent, that is, they represent a greater degree of "goodness of fit" than do alternative patterns. The dominant profile of the United States middle class, presented above, is believed to be internally congruent, while that of the Spanish-Americans is not, since the individual alternative appears to conflict with those for the other three orientations. Kluckhohn contends that the value orientations of societies which are in the process of rapid social change are likely to denote internal inconsistency.

Furthermore, certain value orientations are indicative of stronger inducements to the degree of conformity which is required of an individual than are others. Specifically, Kluckhohn mentions that each of three "modern" orientations--Future, Doing, and Individualism--requires more conformity than some others.

Before the advent of Kluckhohn's theory, social scientists studying value systems were prone to stress only the dominant values.

Thus, they tended to disregard the variant values and the positive functions which the latter serve. They were assuming that, in order to protect and maintain the sociocultural system, the dominant values required a high degree of conformity and that thus the variant value patterns were unimportant.

In this respect, Kluckhohn stresses two major theoretical formulations. One is that the variant value orientations of a society are not only permitted but are actually required for the integration and maintenance of the system. The other is that the differences in the value orientations of different societies are not absolute but are merely divergences of the rank ordering of the same components of orientations which are found in all cultures at all times.

The variant patterns of value orientations have, as a primary function, the maintenance of the system. However, when external influences are brought into play, then the variant orientations may be the sources of potential change. Kluckhohn notes that "Variant individuals playing variant roles are far more susceptible to external influences than are dominantly oriented individuals who play dominant roles" (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961:366).

The value orientations of campus radicals, I believe, would probably more nearly resemble the major variant than the dominant orientations of the United States middle class. While no empirical verification of this viewpoint is readily available, personal observation suggests this hypothesis. At any rate, it would be interesting to see the results of an investigation designed to test the hypothesis.

Another aspect of the theory which relates to the permitted and required variation is the concept of behavior spheres, or, as I have chosen to call them, role areas. Several different types of activity which are more or less well differentiated in every society are necessary if a society is to function properly. These activities are grouped into various role areas. Usually, Kluckhohn enumerates them as the: economic-occupational, the religious, the political, the recreational, the familial, and the intellectual-aesthetic spheres (Kluckhohn and Stodtbeck, 1961:28).

The relationship between role areas and value orientations is reciprocal. However, she feels that value orientations are more durable and more generalized aspects of culture. Consequently, not much more is said of role areas. In personal correspondence with Kluckhohn and through reading her various publications, I am unable to relate specific value orientations to specific role areas. Through letters, she refers to particular items of her instrument as representing a given role area. Yet, in her writings I find references to specific orientations (such as Doing or Present) or some combination of the orientations as indicating one or the other role area. Furthermore, two different factor analyses of the responses did not reveal any logical groupings which might be considered as role areas.

## Variations in Value Orientations and Social Change

The chapter preceding this one reported some selected theories of social change. This section will present an attempt to explore some of the relationships between value orientations and social change.

Already we have mentioned that a primary function of the variant value orientations is the maintenance of the system. It appears that these variant patterns arise as a result of the strains which are created by the dominant values and that they arise in order to mitigate those strains and thus permit the system to continue to operate.

Nevertheless, the variant patterns and the variant individuals who follow them, Kluckhohn believes, are potential sources of basic social and cultural changes. Her main thesis in this respect is that a change of this nature is very rarely the result of either the evolution of the internal variations or caused by an external force. "On the contrary, we maintain that basic change is usually, if not always, the result of the interplay of internal variations and external forces which are themselves variable" (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961:43).

It is logical to assume that the better integrated the value orientation system is, i.e., the greater its goodness of fit, then the greater will be its resistance to change by outside forces. This would be true mostly in cases of culture contact but would not necessarily be true in an intracultural situation.

Kluckhohn notes that perfect congruity is rare, and she offers a corollary proposition: "The part or parts of a social system which are most susceptible to the development of a basic change in cultural values will be those in which there has been the greatest proliferation of variant values for the relief of strain" (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961:45). This points up the fact, indirectly, that the various parts of the system of value orientations change at different rates and that it is the variants themselves who motivate basic change.

In terms of the magnitude of the change which occurs in value orientations and the degree of strength of the external propulsionary force which is necessary there is a step-wise pattern of change. The change which is smallest and which requires the least amount of force is a shift between the second- and third-order orientations, followed next by a shift of the first- and second-order preferences. The greatest change is a shift of the first- and third-order variations, since the change is to the opposite pole. It is the latter which causes the greatest amount of both personal and social disorganization in the system.

More specifically, Kluckhohn (1961:47) believes that a too-rapid shift in the relational orientation creates more serious adjustment problems than if the same degree of change had occurred in any of the other orientations. The relational orientation is a support to the others, and therefore, for maximum effectiveness of the system, should change at approximately the same rate and in the same direction as the others.

An additional consideration is that in predicting the kinds and rates of basic changes, one must take into account the degree of congruity which exists between the external force and the internal variation.

## The Value Orientations Instrument

Kluckhohn devised an instrument for the purpose of eliciting value profiles of individuals. Consisting of 22 items, it was originally used in a study of variations in value orientations in five Southwestern United States communities (see Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961). Since that time, it has been used in a variety of different sociocultural environments, the results of which will be discussed in a later chapter of this work.

However, Kluckhohn's original formulation was cast in terms and situations applicable primarily to rural situations (see Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961:80-90 and 368-378). Consequently, she later developed an "urban" version, which, in my opinion, offers the possibility of a more nearly universal application.

The instrument in both versions consists of 22 items, each of which presents a problematical situation and three alternatives. Each alternative is a possible solution of the stated problem and represents a value orientation position. There are five items representing each of the _time_ and _relational_ orientations and six from both the _activity_ and _man-nature_ areas. Items testing the nature of innate human nature have been developed and used by Kluckhohn, but she did not make them available to us since she was not completely satisfied with their reliability. A response pattern of the best possible solution and the next-best alternative permit a rank ordering of a respondent's orientations on any given item.

In order to clarify the structure of the items and to relate the application of the theory, examples of two of the items are presented. The first is entitled "Length of Life."

> Three men were talking about whether people themselves can do anything to make the lives of men and women longer. Here is what each said:
>
> One said: It is already true that people like doctors and others are finding the way to add many years to the lives of most men by discovering new medicines, studying foods and doing other things such as vaccinations. If people will pay attention to all these new things they will almost always live longer.
>
> The second said: I really do not believe that there is much human beings themselves can do to make the lives of men and women longer. It is my belief that every person has a set time to live and when that time comes it just comes.
>
> The third said: I believe that there is a plan of life which works to keep all living things moving together, and if a man will learn to live his whole life in accord with that plan he will live longer than other men.

This item is from the relational area, and the three responses represent the mastery, subjugation, and harmony variations, respectively. The second is labeled "Ideal Job."

> Three young married men were talking about their notions of the ideal job. Here is what each one said:
>
> The first said: The kind of job I would like best to have if I could is one which is not too demanding of my time and energy. I like to have time to enjoy myself and don't want a job which makes me feel I must always be competing.
>
> The second said: Ideally, I would like a competitive job--one which lets me show what I can accomplish in a line of work for which I am suited.
>
> The third said: Ideally, I would like the kind of job which would let me develop different kinds of interests and talents. I would rather have an understanding of life and people than be successful in one particular field.

Answers to the preceding item should reveal the respondent's value orientations concerning activity. The three alternatives represent the Being, Doing, and Being-in-Becoming orientations, respectively.

The chapter which follows is an attempt to give the reader a general notion of the people in the city where the instrument was administered.

# CHAPTER 4

## THE STUDY COMMUNITY: POPAYAN, COLOMBIA

Popayán is a city of some 77,000 persons located in a valley between two chains of the Andes in southwestern Colombia. The provincial government seat, it is a city which abounds in well-preserved colonial architecture, which has a sense of pride in its history, and which appears to bask in the light of past accomplishments rather than to strive for future accomplishments. A Colombian writer describes Popayán and evaluates attempts to change it in the following manner:

> In the spurs of the Cordillera Central and in a green valley with a mild, welcoming climate, there is a city, witness of great national happenings, cradle of great men, and full of history. It is Popayán, a national monument of which historians, sociologists, architects, urbanists, and planners are all fond, as well as are those interested in studying it and rediscovering it.
>
> With its 400 years of life and the authenticity of its fundamental character, it has been able to preserve itself, we might say, intact, being a treasure to researchers and a wealth to know and exploit.
>
> But in the last few years we have been seeing (a surprise to many who truly know the essence and spirit of the city) a barbaric invasion of ruiners of this national inheritance.
>
> It is necessary that public opinion and [here he enumerates several governmental entities of architects, engineers and a council in charge of national monuments] get together and take an interest in defending a national treasure which even now is in danger of disappearing and which we have the obligation of defending (Avila, 1968:7).

The city is located at slightly more than two degrees north of the equator at an altitude of 5,773 feet above sea level. The climate is pleasant, with a mean annual temperature of 65 degrees. There is little variation from month to month in the temperature, and the greatest difference probably occurs between day and night. Temperatures at night are in the fifties and sixties, and if the temperature climbs to 74 degrees during the day, it is considered hot (Crist, 1950:131). Caldas remarked that the climate is so ideal that it "appears to have been invented by poets" (Sebastián, 1964:13).

Popayán was selected for inclusion in a larger study of value orientations in three Colombian cities. Since there has been ample suggestion that values of leaders may be a significant factor in the rate at which a city develops, it was decided to study the value orientations of leaders in cities at decidedly different levels of development. Additionally, high school seniors were studied in an effort to gain an idea of the value orientations of the younger generation and of those of different social classes in these cities. A basic criterion in the selection of the three cities was that they be departmental capitals representing both extremes of, and an intermediate point along, a posited continuum of development. The cities to be considered were limited to departmental capitals because it was felt that only cities of some size and importance should be studied. Moreover, they are the only cities on which sufficient economic data were available to permit the construction of the economic indices which were needed as a guide in the selection of the study cities.

Several indices of development, including volume of banking transactions, population increase, municipal and housing expenditures, the use of valorization taxes, per-capita expenditures for education, size and income of the transportation system, number of kilowatt hours of electricity generated, and the like, were utilized in the selection of the study cities. Information was collected for the years 1961-1966. Bogotá, the national capital, was excluded from consideration because of the foreign influences there and because of its special situation as the seat of government.

Medellín was an easy and obvious choice for the most-developed city, and Cali (a logical choice for logistical reasons) represented a city in an intervening but rapidly modernizing position, but more difficulty was encountered in selecting the city at the bottom of the scale. Popayán, Tunja, and Pasto had the dubious honor of being in competition for this status. All were lowest at one time or another in some of the indices which were computed, but for all practical intents and purposes, they were fairly equal as to stage of development.

Among 15 cities of Colombia for which data were available, Julio Arboleda Valencia (El País, June 26, 1967:7, 21), president of Popayán's leading bank, found that Popayán ranked last in amount of electricity generated, last in real estate investments, next to last in construction of buildings, last in revenue from property taxes, last in number of cattle slaughtered, and fourteenth in population among 17 departmental capitals. On the other hand, in variables relating to the cost of living for 21 capitals, Popayán was in tenth place in wholesale prices, seventh in retail prices, and fifth in prices of basic staples. This reference gives the reader an additional idea with regard to Popayán's rank among departmental capitals, although it had not been published when the choice was made.

Furthermore, Popayán offered the advantage of being near the base of operations, an important factor in a country where long overland trips are difficult. Moreover, Popayán had lost a tremendous amount of power and prestige since the beginning of this century--just the reverse of the other two study cities. Thus, it offered an interesting contrast and an opportunity to test whether the stage of social and economic development is related to value orientations.

## History

Popayán[1] was founded on January 13, 1537, by Sebastián de Belalcázar, a lieutenant of Pizarro's who fought his way northward from Peru. On March 4, 1540, Carlos V, King of Spain, made Belalcázar governor of the entire territory of Popayán, in recognition for his having founded the cities of Popayán, Cali, Anserma, and others (Crist, 1952:11). In a royal decree dated 1558, Felipe II granted a coat of arms to the city in recompense for "the many and loyal services" of the townspeople to the Crown and for their "loyalty and obedience" to the king (Arboleda, 1965:vii-ix).

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[1] The name, Popayán, is credited to several sources by various historians. The source most often mentioned is the Indians of the Guambia tribe. In their language po (straw), pa (two), and yam (villages) combined signify "two straw villages." Another version is that an Indian chief of the region was named Payán (see Arboleda, 1966:1-5 for these and other versions). A notable history of the city is Arroyo's (1955).

The Province of Popayán was large until 1903--it covered about a third of present-day Colombia. The Cauca Grande, as it was called, consisted of 537,280 square kilometers, whereas the Cauca as it is today has only 30,495 square kilometers (República de Colombia, 1967: 49), because of its division to create other departments. Actually, the boundary lines were very vague. In the royal decree naming Belalcázar provincial governor, Carlos V remarked,

> It is our will and mercy that now and henceforth for the rest of your life you will be governor and captain general of the cities of Popayán and Cali and the towns of Anserma and Neiva with all the boundary marks and common lands which in those provinces have been assigned you and your lieutenants and captains, as long as the town of San Francisco de Quito and its environs are not included (in your territory) (quoted in Crist, 1952:13).

The city thus became the seat of government of western Colombia through royal decree (the king could easily afford such recognition because of all the tributes of gold sent to him by Popayán's wealthy leaders). Therefore, many Spanish-born rulers settled there to look after the king's (and their own) interests. People who wanted to be regarded as influential in this part of the country lived in Popayán, where they could have some contact with those who exercised power. Mine owners from the steaming Chocó jungles preferred to live in the more pleasant climate of Popayán. Landowners from Cali lived there as well, while managers took care of their ranches. These people had a good income and spent vast quantities of it in the building of churches and splendorous homes as a conspicuous show of their wealth (Sebastián, 1964:13). Vergara y Vergara (Sebastián, 1964:13) mentions that Popayán was like a place of royalty, an Italian villa.

The city early became the residence of many of the nation's wealthy and influential people, who came to have great political influence because of their social and economic power. It was the center of culture, "'a mother country' in miniature" (Crist, 1950:132) in western Colombia, and many of the country's leading politicians and poets were Payaneses (people from Popayán). There was a great deal of emphasis on education, and as early as 1640 there was a high school. The Cauca University was established in 1827, and fifteen of the presidents of the country have attended it.

From the first decades, Popayán took its place as one of the leading cities of the new republic. Simón Bolívar, a leader in the fight for independence, often visited friends there, and today it is not uncommon to find plaques denoting houses where he stayed overnight, a week, or even for a more extended period.

Popayán belongs to a small group of cities which have their own unmistakable personalities. Lying in a valley of the Andes, it is a major attraction to tourists and potential residents. Alexander Humboldt wrote of Popayán, "This mixture of the great and beautiful, these greatly varying contrasts, the hand of the All-Powerful has put them in the most perfect harmony, filling the soul with the greatest and most interesting sights" (Sebastián, 1964:11). "It was intentionally placed in a spot where one could withdraw from the unpleasant agitation of business; its rich founders were not looking for agitation but for sweetness" (Sebastián, 1964:13).

The city today has lost much of its influence, while other cities in the area like Cali and Medellín, once of minor importance, are now prominent industrial and commercial centers. Popayán, once so glorious and great, has been largely by-passed by modernization. As one walks down its narrow streets, he can almost feel a sense of pride and history from the buildings themselves and from the people. It is not uncommon to see houses built in the eighteenth century, and even less unusual to see houses with tablets commemorating them as the birthplaces of leading national historical figures. "Popayán, the ancestral city of Benalcázar [_sic_] looks as if it had been transplanted from sixteenth century Spain to the present" (Schaw, 1968:104).

In response to some threats to close the Universidad del Cauca, one writer expressed his sentiments in this manner:

> . . . the University is the last refuge of the Popayán that was and has managed to make its intellectual and political influence felt by the country as a whole. We are no longer the center of the Republic and we must accept . . . that our glorious days have begun to lose themselves in the night of time (_El Liberal_, August 2, 1967:3).

It should be mentioned that Popayán is not so traditional that it has barred modern achievements completely. There has been an inconspicuous acceptance of many of them. At the same time, the people of the city have felt it equally important to retain customs and ways of doing things that have proven worthwhile over the years.

The mayor of Popayán, discussing some of the city's problems, refers to "the inertia of centuries" of the people. It " . . . is not only the physical inertia but the same state of immobility of the people, their lack of civic spirit on occasions, the fact of living only in their past glories, [and] of holding to their pastoral economy . . . " (Caicedo, 1969). It is recognized that some change is inevitable, but some Payaneses believe that this change should occur only through careful planning. To them, the Cali-Popayán highway is a mixed blessing, because it brings both tourists and undesirables (El Liberal, July 15, 1967:3). " . . . Something very profound, yes, very profound indeed, is changing in this city" (El Liberal, September 10, 1967:3). Even building is strictly controlled by a regulating plan so that the colonial patterns will not be disturbed. Nevertheless, modern houses occupy more than half the city (Popayán en 1965: Reseña estadística, n.d.).

When there was a rumor that an old church overlooking the city might be replaced with a modernistic building, an editorial in the Popayán newspaper remarked, "Popayán is a city made not to be touched [changed] by irreverent hands" (El Liberal, July 22, 1967:3). It went on to say that "certain progressive priests" would only "destroy real treasures of colonial architecture and replace them with tiles, microphones, and ghastly colors" (El Liberal, July 22, 1967:3). "It is true that the Belén chapel is not colonial. . . . But it is the church that we have seen for 70 years. To change it for another would be like taking the Eiffel Tower from France" (El Liberal, July 22, 1967:3).

People from Popayán have traditionally been more nationally-oriented than city- or state-oriented. Payaneses "regard themselves as saviors of Colombia" but pay no attention to situations at home. "They should be able to use their intelligence, with their culture and creative imagination, to benefit themselves. The Paisas

[Antioqueños, basically], on the other hand, accept national positions, but work for the good of their home area" (Giraldo, 1967).

The Payaneses do, however, have a great deal of pride in their city. As one goes to the Panteón de los Próceres, a national shrine to the city's heroes, an ancient gentleman recites parts of the town's glorious past in a very formal and poetic style, complete with all the flourishes. Although he has told the same stories many times to various groups, he recounts the history and his praises of those whose remains lie there in such a vivid and exciting way that one feels almost as if he were talking with someone who had actually lived the stories he tells. The old man recites poetry, becomes extremely emotional, and generates a feeling of awe in his listeners.

This same sense of history and civic pride permeates much of the population of Popayán, and the importance of the church in its history is brought to light many times. Popayán might indeed be called the "City of Churches" because of the great number of churches which are found there. It has been said that the churches are more important to the people of Popayán than factories, museums than office blocks, and the arts than technology (Anthony, 1968:167).

These two factors--religious and civic pride--stand out and impress those who visit Popayán. Its annual religious processions are famous. They began as early as 1558. Each year during Easter week, the small city's population increases by several thousand as pilgrims and tourists crowd into all available space to witness the famed processions. When all the hotels and rooming houses are full, many people are taken into the houses of the townspeople.

What further amazes one is that Popayán was still relatively important until after the turn of the century. In 1905, the populations of Popayán, Medellín, and Cali were 23,448,[2] 53,936, and 30,740, respectively (Asociación Colombiana de Facultades de Medicina, n.d.). The latter two have developed and industrialized while Popayán has remained relatively static.

Franck reports, in a description of his walking journey through South America early in this century (Franck, 1917), that Popayán was, even then, a famous old city. Franck and his companion arrived there with dreams of resting up in a comfortable hotel but were disappointed because the city did not live up to their expectations. "Though it was barely eight in the evening, Popayán was as dead as a graveyard at midnight--and darker" (Franck, 1917:88), and there was no hotel. "If Popayán is dead by night, little more can be said for it by day. Languid shopkeeping is almost its only visible industry, and the population seems to live on what they sell one another" (Franck, 1917:90). Modern-day tourists find the Hotel Monasterio (an old monastery converted into a hotel) a comfortable and charming place to stay, and there are other hotels as well. However, they note the conspicuous absence of night-time entertainment and a general tendency for the city to "roll up its sidewalks" by nine or ten o'clock.

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[2] The present writer believes this figure may be in error. Subsequent population censuses show that the city's population declined to only 18,274 in 1912 and increased steadily to 30,000 in 1938. This phenomenon did not occur in other cities. Thus, it is believed that the population of Popayán as reported in the 1905 census was somewhat inflated.

Another possible explanation is that there may have been a considerable migration away from Popayán with the acute and sudden reduction in size of the department of El Cauca in 1903. I place more credence in the former explanation.

One reason for Popayán's lack of industrial development, according to one Popayán leader, was that the railroad from Buenaventura, the country's leading Pacific port, went to Cali, not to Popayán. A perhaps more important reason is found in the values of the people themselves. Proud of their glorious past and their beautiful examples of colonial Spanish architecture in homes, public buildings, and churches, the people appear to disdain progress. They seem to want to hold on to what was, or do not show any evidence of welcoming change. In fact, when the Nestle Milk Company sent representatives to Popayán a few years ago with thoughts of locating a plant there, they were almost snubbed and consequently decided to build their plant in another place (Crist, 1950:137). It would appear that the Payaneses prefer to live in the past rather than strive to change the order of things.

History probably played a large role in the traditional character of the city in another way. Popayán was intensely loyal to both the Spanish crown and the Catholic Church. Since the city and its people were so favored by both (the Church early established an archdiocese there), this may have contributed to their reluctance to change. In the war for independence from Spain, Popayán remained loyal to the crown much longer than the rest of the country and rose up against the liberators. "Even after Indepence was a well-established fact, Popayán remained a stronghold of conservatism and a living monument to the more attractive aspects of colonialism. It remains so today and also retains its intense Catholicism . . . " (Anthony, 1968:167). "Here the Church keeps a hold on the roots of social change" (Schaw, 1968:106). Many aspects of the social and cultural heritage of its colonial days, including a privileged upper class which benefits most from maintaining the status quo, are firmly entrenched.

Andrew Whiteford (1960), an anthropologist who conducted a comparative investigation of social classes in Popayán and Querétaro, Mexico, has some interesting and pertinent observations on the lack of development in Popayán. One of the chief causes for the failure of Popayán to develop was the cataleptic-like state which resulted from the loss of much of its provincial territory:

> As Popayán . . . was divested of its richer lands, which became part of the wealth of new or neighboring states, its fortunes declined drastically. Its rich and fertile valleys became the state of Valle del Cauca; its mines, which once supported the aristocracy in a life of royal wealth, passed to the states of Nariño and Antioquia, and even its mountainous southerly regions of unexplored but potential riches were turned over to the state of Huila. Popayán was left to rule a decimated state, small in size, and composed principally of rolling hills and unexplored mountains. The shock of loss, the feeling of impoverishment in both cases led to a paralysis, an inactivity, which deterred and impeded the full and active exploitation and development of those resources and potentialities which did remain. The result was stagnation. Throughout the major part of the first half of the present century both cities [Popayán and Querétaro] dreamed of their past, lamented their lost wealth and prestige, and estivated. Where they had once played important parts in the commerce between the regions to the north and south of them these roles declined as new roads were built and railroads passed them by. Increasingly they became isolated from their national capitals, and traffic with the outside world dwindled at the very time when other cities were expanding their commerce and increasing their relationships with other regions and other nations. Popayán was superseded by Cali as the principal city of southern Colombia . . . (Whiteford, 1960:7).

Whiteford notes that the people of Popayán could have responded to this loss by launching industry-attracting campaigns and by applying legislative pressure to obtain a highway from the coast. But they did not. Instead they entered into a state resembling catagenesis. The city retorted by " . . . intensifying its traditionalism, immersing itself in poetry and history and deliberately turning its back upon the noise, the dirt, the disturbance--and the wealth--associated with progress" (Whiteford, 1960:140).

Another prominent factor in the city's "retardation" is its rigid system of social classes. There is an old established aristocracy which can be entered only by members of families who have a coat of arms and who have been there for centuries. Thus, members of the middle class have found it practically impossible to penetrate the formidable barrier of the upper class.

Members of the upper class prefer to own land rather than to establish manufacturing concerns. There is little inducement for them to take the financial risks involved in starting an industry. Members of the middle class must use their income for sustenance, and the poor who are inclined to improve their positions leave Popayán for potentially more promising futures in larger cities (Whiteford, 1960:18).

Members of the aristocracy are benefited by the present class system and naturally strive for its perpetuation. The other people (a large majority of the population) who desire change are met only with frustration. Therefore, the "best" solution for the security and peace of mind for most of the people is through tradition.

Whiteford summarizes the situation in this manner:

> Occasional voices were raised in attempts to stir the community to action and to competition but at least three forces stood opposed to any such movement and always succeeded in suppressing it: the literary, scholarly tradition which looked upon the city as a rare gem whose luster must be conserved at any cost; the power of the old aristocracy, which derived its wealth from broad haciendas and dominated the political program of the state; and finally, the geographical isolation which made it possible for the city to stand quietly aloof and complacent, without causing any serious inconvenience to any other community or region of the nation. No rare resources demanded exploitation, no major lines of transportation passed through the city, no port or industrial center was near enough to offer stimulation or challenge, no sudden crises of finance or population occurred to demand a change in policy. There was no pressing need for a new direction, a progressive program. And so, for almost half a century, the city remained, relatively unchanged, deliberately conservative, recognizing that almost any transformation would represent an abandonment of its historic self and reluctant to make the sacrifice (Whiteford, 1960:140).

Hagen (1962:368-369) applied the Thematic Apperception Test to a group of community leaders in Popayán. He found that they tended not to see problems in the pictures they were asked to interpret. They were likely to be philosophic, speculated about the course of history, or associated what they saw in the picture with something in art or literature. If they did see a problem, they were likely not to confront it head on but rather to run from it. If they offered a solution, it was most often in the form of clichés or based on fantasy. They seemed to flee from reality. Their responses showed low-need autonomy, low-need achievement, and low-need order. They had little sense of the realities of the situation and appeared to see one's position as given and the world as unmanageable.

The responses from Medellín leaders were almost the exact opposites. Could it be that the more traditional values of the

Popayán leaders constitute a principal reason for their relative lack of development?

In summary:

> These various factors have operated to preserve the medieval status quo in Popayán, where emphasis is still placed upon its glorious role in history, its great families and its religious processions. But as long as most of the influential Popayanejos [sic] find this nostalgic backward looking completely satisfying, just so long will the town remain a relic of the Middle Ages (Crist, 1950:140).

# CHAPTER 5

# DESIGN OF THE INVESTIGATION

Any empirically oriented research report should include a detailed description of the steps involved in the planning and execution of the investigation. This chapter explains the design of the study, including the selection of the sample units, the field procedures, including the pretesting of the instrument, the conducting of the interviews, and the processing of the data.

A major goal of the project was to examine by means of empirical data the relationship between value orientations and the stage of socioeconomic development of people in cities at or near the poles of a hypothesized continuum of development (one city in a rapidly developing phase was also included). The reader will remember that three cities--Popayán, Medellín, and Cali--were selected in order to permit this examination. This report, as mentioned in Chapter 1, will deal primarily with the responses from Popayán, the least-developed of the three cities.

## Sample Design

In this section, we will consider in some detail the selection of the individuals who were included in the investigation. Since there has been ample suggestion in the literature that the leaders of a community play a significant role in the fashioning and advancement of plans for the development of the community (see Chapter 2), their inclusion is imperative in a study of the connection between values and stage of community development. Additionally, in an attempt to determine some of the differences in value orientations among the various socioeconomic levels, it was decided to obtain the responses of a selected group of students. Furthermore, the study of value orientations of students gives us an opportunity to focus empirically on the values of the younger generation.

## The Sample of Leaders

Prior to the selection of leaders (our translation of the Spanish *dirigentes*) was the determination of the universe of leaders. In essence, for our purposes a leader is a person who occupies a position which enables him to influence decisions related to his city's social and economic development. After considerable discussion of the matter with knowledgeable Colombian informants, it was clear that selected persons in the commercial, industrial, banking, governmental, quasigovernmental, university, and religious sectors of the city's structure would most likely hold such positions.[1] It was decided that 60 leaders would probably be sufficient to permit testing of the hypotheses. The universe of leaders was then defined as the 60 individuals occupying the most important decision-making positions in the above-specified sectors. The decision regarding the number of leaders to be interviewed was reached after taking into account the time and personnel resources which were available for conducting interviews, by considering the size of sample which would enable us to make the required comparisons both between and within groups, and by discussing the limitations imposed on Kluckhohn's New Mexico Study (see Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck:1961) by the small sample sizes.

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[1] Jaramillo (1967) studied the opinions of Medellín leaders on attitudes toward birth control at about the time of the present study. Neither research group knew of the work of the other at the time the samples were drawn. Nevertheless, the samples were, for all practical intents and purposes, essentially equal. Their sample included the following sectors: education, governmental-political, industry and commerce, religion, mass media, and women. Comparing their sample with ours, we included bankers specifically and they did not, and they added women and representatives of the mass media. Their study did include interviews with some bankers (because of their positions as board members, etc., in the other sectors) and our study included

## Sampling Plan for Leaders

The sampling frame was formulated individually for each sector. It was defined to include the directors and board members of the ten leading industries; the owners and partners of the ten largest commercial firms; the directors and board members (when local boards existed) of the five largest banks; the mayor, his secretaries, and members of the city council; the directors and board members of the quasigovernmental agencies; the archbishop and his staff; and non-faculty, nonstudent board members of the Cauca University.

A list of the people in these positions includes, I believe, the names of the people who were most likely to be significantly

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some women and mass media people. The rather close correspondence between the two designs for sampling leaders has added significance since it suggests that the Colombian researchers reached approximately the same conclusions about the structure of community power as did a research group comprised chiefly of North Americans.

involved in decision-making in Popayán. I could find no available evidence in the form of empirical studies regarding the relative influence of each sector within the power structure. Therefore, each sector was assigned a number of interviews in accordance with what we considered to be the relative importance of that sector with respect to its place in the making of decisions in Popayán. This decision was made after careful observation of the community and after considerable discussion with knowledgeable Colombians. The number of sampling units in each sector was:

| Sector | Sample Units |
|---|---|
| Commercial | 15 |
| Industrial | 10 |
| Banking | 10 |
| Governmental | 5 |
| Quasigovernmental | 10 |
| University | 5 |
| Church | 5 |

### Drawing Sample Units of Leaders

In order to obtain lists of the ten leading commercial establishments, the ten largest industrial firms, the five leading banks, and the important quasigovernmental entities, a visit was made to the Popayán Chamber of Commerce. There we obtained lists which included more individual firms in each sector than our original specifications (so that later we could cross-check) and additional information as well. As an example of the types of data which were used, we obtained, individually for each of the 15 leading industries, the name, address, and type of industry, the name of the president (or manager, in some cases), the capital investment, the value of production in 1966 (the last year for which data were available), and the names of the board members.

Next, visits were made to the presidents of Popayán's six banks. There we obtained lists of their boards of directors and asked their opinions as to which were the most important boards of directors in Popayán.

The names of the mayor and his cabinet, plus the names of the members of the municipal council, were obtained from the mayor's office. The secretary to the Rector of the Universidad del Cauca supplied the information for the university sector, and the archbishop's chancellor provided the names of the five members of the archbishop's council. The two latter sectors were composed of only five people each, exactly the number we had specified, but with no allowance for replacements, if necessary.

Utilizing the information obtained, lists were compiled according to the specifications previously mentioned (the ten largest commercial firms, the ten largest industries, etc.), followed by a listing and consecutive numbering of the names of the persons filling the specified positions. The original lists included the names of wives as partners, in some instances. In checking, it was found that wives did not normally participate in the actual operation of the firms but were included as legal loopholes in the event of bankruptcy. Since the wives had no votes, their names were stricken from the lists. Foreigners were likewise excluded unless they were permanent residents of Popayán, because our primary and guiding purpose was to study the values of Colombians, and we did not want to contaminate the profile with the values of people who were reared in other societies.

Using a standard random table of numbers, the names were drawn for each sector in accordance with the plan mentioned previously in this chapter. Replacements, when necessary because of the unavailability of a subject, were obtained in the same manner.

## The Sample of Students

A word on the nature of the Colombian school system will help the reader to understand more completely the reasoning behind the selection of the individual schools for inclusion in the study. First, most schools are divided according to sex. In some rural schools, boys attend school one day and girls the next, or boys attend in the morning and girls in the afternoon. Another consideration is that primary schools consist of six years, and secondary schools (*colegios*), of six years. Furthermore, schools are reputedly relatively homogeneous with respect to the socioeconomic status (SES) of most of the students who attend a particular school.

Since males are the ones most likely to advance to community decision-making positions (and thus affect the future development of the city), the study was conducted among sixth-year *bachillerato* male students (the equivalent of high school seniors in the United States).

Among the reasons for studying high school students was the fact that it has been amply demonstrated that there are differences in values, motivations, and the like, among the various social classes. This difference would most probably not be revealed by the study of leaders, who would most often come only from the upper social strata. In Colombia, there are both public and private schools. While the private schools are not as exclusive as the ones in the United States, the tuition charged to fathers of students who attend them is generally a sufficient social class screening device.

It was decided, therefore, to include two schools from the public and two from the private sector in order to obtain some indication of social class differences in values. A further modification of the design was to interview students from the "highest" and "lowest" ranking colegios within both sectors. This latter ranking was likewise based on the socioeconomic status of the schools, in terms of the tuition charged students of private schools, and on the basis of the judgments of knowledgeable local informants.

Thus, the universe of the "new" generation (as contrasted with the leaders, the "old" generation) consisted of all male high school senior students in colegios at the highest and the lowest socioeconomic levels in both the public and private sectors.

In order to get a general notion of the change which may be occurring in values from one generation to the next within the same social class, students were asked additionally to give a ranking of their perceptions of each of their parents' choices on each item. A comparison of leaders' value orientations with the students' perceptions of their parents' responses thus would permit a comparison of the value orientations of the sample leaders with one composed largely of nonleaders, who may be regarded as members of roughly the same generation as the leaders.

## Selecting the Schools

A check with officials at the Universidad del Cauca revealed that there were only four all-male schools in Popayán which offered the bachillerato (high school diploma). Subsequent talks with the rectors of some of the schools confirmed this.

Luckily for the purposes of the investigation, there were two public and two private schools which offered the bachillerato, and informants felt that there were socioeconomic differences similar to the specifications of our study among the students who attended those schools. Specifically, in both public and private sectors, there was a school attended by children of the socially and economically privileged and one attended by people with fewer social and financial assets.

It should be pointed out that, while public education is legally compulsory for all children between certain ages in Colombia, those from many poor families simply do not attend because school facilities are inadequate and because of the vagueness of statements in the law pertaining to compulsory age and periods of attendance (Legters, et al., 1961:148). They often obtain some petty employment to help support the family. The present author views high school graduation as primarily a privilege of members of the upper class and of some from the middle class.

## Field Procedures

The Kluckhohn instrument, discussed in Chapter 3 of the present work, was translated into Spanish by a thoroughly bilingual Colombian sociologist. Then, several sessions were held with the translator, revising each item exhaustively in order to be as sure as possible that the content and meaning were the same in Spanish as in English, thus facilitating cross-cultural comparisons of the findings. Another bilingual person, not involved at all in the study, was then asked to render an English translation of the Spanish version. After a comprehensive revision by all persons concerned, the instrument was applied in a pretest.

It should be mentioned here that a "face sheet," designed to elicit personal data regarding each respondent, was also prepared. Much of this information was utilized as independent variables in the testing of hypotheses. Copies of the questions concerning biographical information are included in Appendix III.

### Pretesting the Instrument

The pretest was conducted in Palmira, a city of some 150,000 people about 18 miles from Cali. Palmira, rather than Cali, the base of operations, was selected in order to prevent possible contamination of the sample in Cali. The pretest sample was selected on the basis discussed in the previous section but with smaller numbers of leaders (16 leaders were interviewed).

After the pretest, it was evident that some of the procedures needed to be changed. The most serious fault was the question in the background material regarding father's occupation. The instrument asked simply for the father's occupation. Students were inclined to report "comerciante" or "negociante," loosely translated as "businessman," which would include occupations ranging anywhere from a corner peanut vendor to the owner of a large commercial establishment. Therefore, the question was revised to read: What is the profession or occupation of your father? Where does he work? What does he do?

In the pretest of leaders, two different methods of obtaining the responses were used. In one method the interviewers (including the present writer, a Colombian sociologist, and another United States-trained sociologist who speaks Spanish fluently) presented the subjects with a copy of the items, but the interviewer recorded the responses. In the other method, the interviewers read the items to the respondents and asked for the answers, which they then recorded. Since so many repetitions of some alternatives were necessary, the decision was to adopt the first method for use in the investigation.

Another concern resolved in pretesting was whether leaders should be asked, as were the students, their perceptions of their parents' thinking on the items. Half the leaders were asked this question and half were not. Because of the number of years which many leaders had been away from their parents, and the difficulty many leaders appeared to experience in remembering how their parents might respond, the decision was to omit this part of the interview for leaders.

## Interviewing the Leaders

Since the value orientations of leaders were cardinal to this investigation, it was felt that interviews with them should be conducted by means of a schedule. Thus, they read the instrument and gave their responses to the interviewer, who duly recorded them. At no time was a schedule of questions left with a respondent, thus minimizing possible contamination of other subjects. Also, this prevented the possiblity that a busy executive's assistant or secretary might provide the answers.

In order to reduce possible biases in responses caused by variant styles of the three interviewers, each conducted one-third of the interviews in each sector in each city, insofar as this was possible (N's of 5 and 10 do not divide evenly by 3). Thus, interviewer A, for example, interviewed every third leader on the list, beginning with the first. In another city, the same interviewer began with the second name on the list, and with the third in the last city. The lists were drawn by sector, and the names were listed in the order in which they were drawn.

Subsequently, in the analysis of the data, t-tests and a one-way analysis of variance revealed that there were no significant differences in the responses of the leaders who were interviewed by each interviewer as compared with each of the other two interviewers. Thus, it is, I think, a safe assumption that interviewer bias played only a minor role in the final results.

The respondents were first contacted by telephone in order to schedule an appointment for the interview. Because of the often-informal nature of life in Popayán, some leaders did not have telephones in their places of business. Others (especially lawyers) had an office adjoining their residence. These facts presented no insurmountable problems, because the houses, following the Spanish style of construction, were close together, and it was thus convenient to reach most places in town by foot. Cooperation of the interviewees was excellent--in only one case, that of an elderly priest, did the person contacted refuse to be interviewed.

The interview was justified as being part of a study of the opinions of leaders in several Colombian cities in reference to common, everyday human problems. A few people objected, saying that they did not feel that they were leaders and therefore their opinions were not of much value. The response to this objection was to explain that their names had been drawn from those of a group of people whom others considered to be leaders, and also to name other people who were being interviewed. Furthermore, we explained that since this was an investigation based on the scientific method, names could not be substituted freely. Therefore, it was imperative that they, not someone else, be interviewed in order to guarantee the validity of the results. Others suggested that their responses might not be correct, which was countered by explaining that we were seeking only their opinions, and thus there were no right or wrong answers. These explanations were sufficient to insure their cooperation in most cases.

At the beginning of each interview session, usually lasting half an hour, a standard presentation emphasizing the importance of the study, its legitimation, and the confidentiality of the responses was given in order to provide a more or less common stimulus for each respondent. The Kluckhohn instrument was presented next, and the background information then was obtained. It was felt that this sequence of instrument and personal data would offer less likelihood that an interview might not be completed because of the respondent's objection to questions concerning his background.

No interpretations of the items were given in an effort to avoid biasing the responses. In cases where interpretations were asked for, the administrators limited themselves to rereading the items slowly.

### Interviewing the Students

Once the schools were selected, visits were made to the rectors in order to determine their willingness to permit their students to participate in the study and to arrange a date and place for the administration of the instrument. It had been decided previously that the use of the instrument as a questionnaire would be the more effective method of administration.

In all schools, a standard presentation was used, for the reasons already stated in the preceding section. Once the presentation was made the questionnaires were distributed to the students with the request that they not begin completing them until directions had been given. The instructions, which likewise were read by the researcher, consisted of an item-by-item comment on the completion of the background data, which in the case of the students were asked for first. Then the first item was read aloud and examples of how to respond to the items were given on the blackboard.

At least two (and usually all three) of the interviewers were present to assist with the distribution of questionnaires, to answer the students' questions, and the like. As with the leaders, no interpretations of the items were given.

## Processing the Data

Processing of the data was a step which has taken a long time to complete. Since so much time has been spent on this part of the project it will be discussed in some detail.

### Coding the Responses

Because of the quantity of background material gathered for each respondent and because of the large number of responses per schedule, the task of coding the responses from the three cities included in the project was a time-consuming, complicated one. Code books of 40 pages and 48 pages, respectively, were drawn up for the leaders and the students (approximately 28 pages of each code book were comprised of long lists of neighborhoods and geographic-political units called _municipios_ [somewhat equivalent to our county]). Detailed instructions for the coding of each response were given in the code books. As coding proceeded and additional distinctions among categories were decided upon, these were written up as addenda to guide the coders uniformly.

The responses were coded by three Ph.D. candidates in sociology from the University of Florida, two of whom also were interviewers. The data were transferred onto sheets of 80-column paper, so that the keypunchers afterwards could easily punch the numbers into identical card columns. Each of the three graduate students coded one-third of the data from each city, with each portion of results being randomly selected, to reduce coder bias in each sector. Each leader's schedule and every tenth student's questionnaire was checked for accuracy against the coded responses by another coder.

The IBM cards were punched and verified by professional keypunchers at the Universidad del Valle, in Cali. Then, a listing of each card was obtained and checked for "impossible" codes, which were corrected. There were two IBM punched cards for each leader and four for each student. The greater number of cards required for students was caused by including each parent's replies, as well as the student's.

### Machine Processing

The cards were processed by the University of Florida's 360/50 and 360/65 IBM computers, with input and output on the 1401.

### Descriptive and Explanatory Material

The first batch of data was what we have called "Descriptive and Explanatory Tables," which are cross-classifications of only the background information which was collected on each respondent. The program used was a "canned" one--the California Bio-Medical Program BMD02S, revised September 1, 1965, version. The program computes two-way frequency tables, percentage tables by rows, columns, and table totals, as well as a number of statistical measures, such as contingency coefficients, chi-squares, and maximum likelihood ratios. The statistical measures were of minimal importance to this investigation, since these tables are used only to describe the sample and to assist in explaining some of the findings.

## The Method of Analysis

After lengthy consultations with Dr. Harry Scarr, Florence Kluckhohn's principal statistical consultant, an analytical method which went far beyond Kluckhohn's original analyses in scope was devised. Scarr (of the Wharton School of Commerce and Finance, University of Pennsylvania) had already refined Kluckhohn's analysis (Cf. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961; and Caudill and Scarr, 1962).

The hypotheses were couched in terms of modernity, and it was thus decided to run an analysis on this basis. Since the United States is often regarded as the most modern nation in the world, then the dominant values of its people may be regarded tentatively as being conducive to modernization. Kluckhohn assumes their dominant value orientations to be: Future with respect to _time_ orientation; Doing with regard to _activity_ orientation; Mastery over Nature in the _man-nature_ area; and Individual in the _relational_ orientation (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961:343). These imputed value orientations were taken as the basis of comparison in an effort to determine the degree to which the value orientations observed in Popayán were like or different from those believed to prevail in the United States middle class.

The scoring of the responses involved assigning one point when the dominant choice was identical to that of our middle class, even though the variant choices were reversed, or when a double selection (equal preference) of orientations was obtained for both first and second choices and one of these was the putative dominant United States value. Thus, if leader A reported a preference for the Future time orientation followed by the Present alternative and finally Past, he was given a score of one point. If he had any other order of preferences (such as Future=Past or Future>Past>Present) which rated the Future alternative as first choice or of equal importance with another alternative in the first position, he received one point on the item. Any other response pattern received a score of zero.

The data were submitted for computer computations of one-way analyses of variance and t-tests.

The conservative nature of this analysis. It has been noted that this analysis proceeds according to orientational areas, that is, summing the respective five items for each of the time and relational areas, and the six items for the two remaining ones. In each area for both leaders and students, there was at least one item in the Kluckhohn scale which was clearly deviant with regard to the total profile. This suggests that this particular item may have been more situational than the rest. This statement is supported by the fact that the deviant item was the same for both leaders and students and was the same item for each of the three cities. Furthermore, the basis for analysis assumes the value profile of the United States middle class (with which those of the Popayán subjects were compared) to be that attributed to it by Florence Kluckhohn. Granting this assumption, there remains the problem that the United States middle-class value profile has never been measured empirically. This analysis assumes the profile given as an ideal-typical model. Nevertheless, it is likely that if an empirical test of the value orientations of the middle-class citizens in our country were conducted, the results would fall short of the monolithic structure used here as a model. Thus, the actual score of middle-class people of the United States would be lower than that which has been used as the basis of comparison in this analysis. Therefore, on the basis of these observations, this analysis may be considered to be very conservative.

# CHAPTER 6

# CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS

The leaders and students from whom information about value orientations was elicited were selected by a sampling method intended to insure that the two sets of respondents would be representative of their respective universes. In the one case, this universe comprised the most influential leaders in each of seven defined sectors; in the other, all male students in the sixth (final) year of secondary school in all four institutions of that level in Popayán. Consequently, an examination of the social characteristics of the two categories can throw light on the nature of the two defined universes, which is the more important since these "background factors," as they have been called heretofore in this dissertation, are used as independent variables in testing some of the hypotheses.

The sampling frame was discussed in the preceding chapter. Of the sample units originally drawn from it, 15 replacements had to be made. Eight of these were caused by the fact that the leaders occupying the defined positions were nonresidents of Popayán and, by definition, were thus excluded from the sample. Three of the leaders had died, and two were on extended absences from the city. In one case the person had not occupied the designated position for two years, and one person was an elderly invalid whose sons requested that he not be bothered.

Since the samples were selected on the basis of positions held by the leaders, a description of these positions is in order. The positions are presented according to the sector from which the names were originally drawn (because of the system of interlocking directorates, several sample units were drawn more than once and in more than one sector), and only that position will be reported (for example, the mayor of Popayán was chosen first as a board member, and thus is reported as a board member rather than as the mayor): Industrial--six partners, two owners, and two board members;[1] Commercial--six partners, five managers, two owners, and two board members; Banking--five bank presidents and five board members (three of the banks had no local boards of directors); Quasigovernmental--seven board members and three managers (there were four quasi-governmental entities); and Governmental--the city attorney, the secretary of public works, the secretary of valorization, and two city council members. The university and church leaders corresponded to the specifications already outlined in Chapter 5.

The mean age of the 59 leaders was 44.3 years, and 21 of them were younger than 40. The youngest group of leaders was from the governmental sector. Their mean age was 35, with two being less than 30 years of age. The bankers were the oldest group, with a mean age of 52 years.

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[1] The reader should be advised that not all types of positions were present in all entities represented here. For instance, some firms listed partners only, some owners only, and others listed board members.

Only ten of the leaders were single, with the rest being married. Of the single group, four were priests. Three of the five governmental leaders were single, while all the bankers, industrialists, and university leaders were married.

## Socioeconomic Status (SES) of the Leaders' Sample

Several socioeconomic indices were included in the questions which were asked the respondents. Among them was a question pertaining to the barrio (neighborhood) in which the respondents resided. In Colombia, a person's barrio of residence is, according to informants, among the most accurate measures of a person's SES. The SES of the barrios in Popayán has been classified by the municipal planning board as: upper, upper middle, middle, low, and "superlow." Two-thirds of the leaders reported that they lived in barrios which had been classified as upper class. All but two of the remainder lived in middle- and upper-middle-class neighborhoods. Since these people are leaders, and thus most likely receive better-than-average incomes, one is not surprised at these findings.

### Occupational Status of Leaders' Fathers

An attempt was made to classify the occupations of leaders' fathers into four broad status categories referred to as groups one through four; the lower the number, the higher the SES of the group. This classification is based on a modification of a system developed by the United States Bureau of the Census (for example, see Bureau of the Census, 1961:xxxii).

Group I may be characterized as grouping professionals, officials, and owners and operators of large firms; it encompasses (1) professional, technical, and kindred workers; (2) farmers and farm managers of large enterprises; and (3) managers, officials, and proprietors of large enterprises. There were 22 responses in this category. Group II is comprised mainly of white-collar workers: (1) clerical and kindred workers; (2) sales workers; (3) farmers, managers, officials, and proprietors of small enterprises; and (4) primary and secondary school teachers. Fifteen of the leaders' fathers were classified as white-collar employees. Group III is the blue-collar category: (1) craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers; and (2) operatives and kindred workers. Seven responses fell in Group III. Service workers and other laborers make up Group IV, which includes: (1) private household workers; (2) other service workers; (3) farm laborers and farm foremen; and (4) other laborers except mine workers. Only one leader reported that his father was a service worker or laborer.

Some difficulties were encountered in classifying responses, particularly in cases where such occupational designations as businessman, farmer, or rancher were not accompanied by sufficient information to permit a determination as to size of the enterprise involved. Such nonclassifiable responses were omitted from the computations.

These data show that the social origins of respondents in the banking sector were highest and those of respondents in the governmental sector lowest. The three priests who responded to this item reported fathers' occupations classified in Group II.

## Educational Attainment of Leaders and Their Fathers

Many sociological investigations have noted and stressed the importance of education as an index of SES. This study considers the education of both the leaders and their fathers. The data were combined in a manner that would yield four categories of educational attainment--no formal schooling, primary, secondary, and college.

Almost 75 percent of the leaders reported some college education, and all except three of these had been graduated. All the governmental, church, and university leaders had attended college. Persons in the commercial sector were least likely to have studied in a college or university. Only two leaders had received only a primary-school education, and 13 had gone no further than secondary school.

The fact that all leaders in the governmental sector had pursued college-level studies may be significant in connection with the foregoing index of SES. It will be remembered that governmental leaders' fathers had the lowest occupational rankings. Thus, it appears likely that education may have been perceived by them and their fathers as an important avenue for upward social mobility.

Of the 41 leaders who were graduated from college, 27, or almost two-thirds, had studied either law or engineering, with two-thirds of these in engineering. The rest had degrees in theology (4), medicine and economics (3 each), and education (2). The numbers of people in law and engineering reflects the popularity of these disciplines as fields of study for Colombians. These two areas are specialties of Cauca University, and 32 of the 41 college graduates attended that institution. Popayán thus contrasted with Cali and Medellín, where more leaders had studied law than engineering. It seems likely that Popayán leaders were swayed by Cauca University's reputation in the field of engineering.

### Residential History of Leaders in Popayán

A majority, 39, of the leaders were born in Popayán, and an additional eight were born in the department, El Cauca. However, only nine had resided in Popayán all their lives. Thus, a large majority of the Popayán leaders had been subjected to socialization elsewhere at some period in their lives.

## Characteristics of the Students

The students were chosen from four schools, according to the criteria previously described, referred to here as high private, low private, high public, and low public. The modifier "SES" should be understood in each instance.

The high-private school was housed in a large, old building, and included both primary and secondary school students. Run by Catholic brothers of the Marist order, the school had about 200 students. Under construction at the edge of town, but relatively convenient to students, is a large, new, modern building which accommodates approximately 500 students. Nineteen students completed the questionnaire in this school.

The low-private school was located in an old, unpretentious building situated near the center of town. It was a nocturnal school, attended by small girls during the day. The approximately 200 students who attend this evening school come largely from poor families. Many of them were married, and most of them worked for a living. Twenty one students answered the questionnaire there.

The high-public school is associated with the Universidad del Cauca, and data were furnished by exactly 100 students there. The school building is a large, three-story structure. The then rector, who was also a professor at the University, was a German chemist who ruled with an iron hand. He arranged to place the group in two separate rooms with plenty of space to reduce the possibility of copying.

The low-public school, where 14 students filled out the questionnaire, was located in a large old two-story house with an interior courtyard. Approximately 200 secondary students attended classes there. One student refused to answer the questions, but remained with the rest of the class and talked quietly with one of the interviewers. He was the only student in any city who refused to collaborate in the study.

The students were older, on the average, than are high school seniors in the United States, with a median age of 19.5 years. Students in the high-private school had the lowest median age, 18.8 years, and those in the low-private the highest, 26.3 years.

## SES of the Students' Sample

In discussing the SES of the barrios where the leaders resided, it was reported that the SES of the barrios in Popayán has been classified by the city planning board as: upper, upper middle, middle, low, and "superlow." Students reported that they lived in these classes of barrios in the following proportions: 13.9, 19.0, 36.5, 26.3, and 4.4 percent, respectively.[2] The high-private students lived in the higher SES barrios, followed by the high-public, the low-private, and finally the low-public students, in the order indicated. Of the low-public students, 76.9 percent lived in barrios of the last two categories, low and superlow, as compared with only 5.3 percent of the high-private students.

### Occupations of the Students' Fathers

On the basis of the same classification system for occupations explained above in relation to leaders, 29.3 percent of the students' fathers were in professional occupations, 32.3 percent in white-collar positions, 34.3 percent in blue-collar jobs, and only 4.1 percent were employed in service and labor occupations. The high-private students' fathers held the greatest percentage of higher-status positions, followed by fathers of students in the high-public, low-public, and low-private schools, in that order.

The classification system used in this analysis, it will be remembered, excluded the responses "businessman," "farmer," and "rancher" when these responses could not confidently be classified in one of the four specified groups. Slightly more than 35 percent of the students listed fathers' occupations which were unclassifiable, viewed in these terms. Approximately one-half of the occupations reported for fathers of students in the low-public and high-private schools were thus not classifiable. In view of the already-small numbers of respondents in these two categories of schools, results based on fathers' occupations should be viewed with some suspicion or accepted with the proverbial "grain of salt."

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[2] Because of rounding, percentages total more than 100.0.

### Educational Attainment of Students' Fathers

Only one student reported that his father had never attended school. Slightly more than two-fifths of the fathers had had some primary schooling and an approximately equal share had had some secondary education, while 17 percent had attended college. The level of education attained was greatest among fathers of students in high-private schools, followed by fathers of those in high-public, then low-private, and finally low-public schools.

Thus, on the basis of this evidence, it can be seen that, taken as a whole, students from the high-private school came from superior socioeconomic backgrounds, when compared with students from the other schools. They were followed by students from the high-public, low-private, and low-public schools, respectively. Thus, the basis for the original selection was observed in actuality, although there were only four schools from which to make the selections.

The present writer is not convinced, however, that all students from the highest SES groups necessarily attended the high-private school. The manner in which the data were gathered permits only the observation that the students in the high-private school came from higher SES groups taken as a whole. The superior reputation of the high-public school, in an educational sense, may have been sufficient to snare away some higher-SES students. However, parents of these students would, in my opinion, have had to be less status-conscious in order to allow their students to attend a public school. Whether or not the observation is well-taken, on the basis of limited observation, I believe that students in the high-public school probably received a more adequate education than those in the high-private school. An additional consideration is the possibility that a greater number of those in the former planned to attend the Universidad del Cauca, and thus viewed it as a stepping stone because of the close association of the two institutional units.

## Other Student Characteristics

Approximately 78 percent of the students reported that they were born in the department of El Cauca. The individual schools did not vary greatly from this figure, with the exception of the low-public school, where the proportion was almost 93 percent. Nearly 10 percent were born in El Valle, the department which borders El Cauca on the north, and of which Cali is the capital. The remainder were from various sections of the country.

Many of the characteristics which have been described in this chapter will be used as independent variables in the testing of hypotheses in Chapter 7, which follows.

# CHAPTER 7

# VALUE ORIENTATIONS IN POPAYAN

This and the following chapters may be considered to be the focal points of the dissertation. Their writing is what we have been working toward since the inception of the project almost four years ago. The present chapter reports the results of tests of some of the hypotheses as well as value profiles of the different groups for whom responses were solicited.

The term, value orientations, may be used in two ways. The four basic orientations which the instrument tests (Time, Man-Nature, Activity, and Relational) are referred to by Kluckhohn as value orientations (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961:11). The ranges of variability, or alternatives within each of these larger areas of value orientations, are also referred to as value orientations (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961:11).

In an effort to avoid confusion in the remaining chapters, the titles for the first type of orientations are italicized. The alternatives within these will be capitalized but not italicized. This method of differentiation was suggested by Kluckhohn (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961:11) and has been followed in the preceeding chapters. As an added convention, all items pertaining to a general type of value orientation, such as time, will sometimes be called orientational areas. "As a whole" will refer to the total of the value orientations on all 22 items in the instrument.

## Value Profiles of the Respondents

In order that the reader may gain a general notion of the value structure of the Payaneses who were interviewed, their group value profiles are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Value Profiles of Popayán Leaders, Students, and Students' Parents, by Orientational Areas, 1967

| | Orientational Areas | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Group | Time | Activity | Man-nature | Relational |
| Leaders | F>Pr>Pa* | Bib>D>Be | O>W>S | C>L>I |
| Students | F>Pr>Pa | Bib>D>Be | O>W>S | I>L>C |
| Mothers | F>Pa>Pr | Bib>D>Be | O>W>S | I>C>L |
| Fathers | F>Pr>Pa | Bib>D>Be | O>S>W | I=L>C |

*The interpretations of the abbreviations used in this table are as follows:

Time
F=Future
Pr=Present
Pa=Past

Activity
D=Doing
Bib=Being-in-Becoming
Be=Being

Man-Nature
O=Mastery over Nature
W=Harmony with Nature
S=Subjugation to Nature

Relational
I=Individual
C=Collateral
L=Lineal

Perhaps the most surprising finding revealed by a glance at this table is the relative uniformity of the value profiles of the different categories of respondents. The only orientation in which many differences are found is the relational area. It is likewise the only area where first-order preferences are not identical and where an equal preference for the dominant choice is in evidence.

A closer inspection of the patterning of the responses within the relational orientation provides an important clue to what is happening in Popayán. It is in this area that the responses were most evenly distributed among the three alternatives. Kluckhohn predicts that "for total systems the evidence of a virtually equal stress on two alternative positions, especially in first-order choices, is usually indicative of cultural transition" (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961:25). For students and leaders, this was the case with regard to the relational orientation. Furthermore, the Lineal and Individual alternatives for students' fathers received an exactly equal number of choices across the five items which deal with the relational orientation. Therefore, we may assume that some degree of "cultural transition" is occurring in Popayán.

Perhaps an even stronger indication of the social change which is taking place comes from the profile of the younger generation. The Lineal, Collateral, and Individual alternatives were chosen in the proportions of 33.24, 33.10, and 33.66 percent, respectively. Kluckhohn notes that, according to her theory, an essentially equal preference for all alternatives "should not, . . . be at all common empirically. If it does appear as an overall pattern and can be demonstrated to be realistic and not a result of a fault in the theory or the method of testing, it indicates rapid cultural change--a state of flux" (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961:25).

There is no reason which occurs to the present writer which would explain this pattern of responses merely as a result of the method of testing. Furthermore, it is precisely the younger generation in which one would expect most change to be occurring. It should be pointed out again that the distribution of responses for all groups in all cities on the relational items showed less polarization on these than on other items, but nowhere was the example so strikingly non-differentiated as it was among the students in Popayán.

Thus, assuming that the explanation does not arise from a fault in the theory or in the method of measurement, we would note the finding as an indication of the occurrence of social change, which even casual observation in Colombia would tend to support. However, evidence to suggest that change is proceeding more rapidly among the students in Popayán than among other categories examined was not readily observable to me. In fact, I do not recall noting anything, either in the interview sessions or outside them, which would suggest such a phenomenon.

Kluckhohn is not clear as to whether the change to which she refers is societal in scope or whether it relates only to the area of value orientations, which is no small matter in itself. Nor does she mention whether a change in only one value orientation is sufficient to indicate the change to which she alludes, or if it might indicate that other orientations are likewise changing.

My guess would be that the findings in the relational orientation, taken in conjunction with those for the other orientations, suggest an ordered manner in which changes in value orientations have occurred in Popayán. The responses of students and leaders for the time orientation reveal the strongest preference, percentagewise, for the dominant choice. The man-nature, relational, and activity orientations follow, in that order, based on the predominance of the dominant choice in the total patterning and on the goodness of fit with the total profile.

## Testing of the Hypotheses

The reader should be reminded that "modern," as used in the hypotheses, refers to the dominant value orientations attributed by Florence Kluckhohn to people belonging to the middle class in the United States. These are: Future time, Doing activity, Mastery over Nature man-nature, and Individual relational orientations (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961:343).

### Hypotheses Related to Leaders

#### Hypothesis one

The value orientations of leaders in the industrial sector will be more modern than will those of church leaders.

The church in Popayán has been linked traditionally with a high regard for tradition and conservatism (one tradition, the annual Holy Week processions, has persisted since 1558). On the other hand, we have been lead to believe that industrial people are more likely to be forward-looking, go-getters, entrepreneurs; that is, more modern-oriented.

The null hypothesis could not be rejected at the .05 level of significance on a one-tailed test. The direction, however, was as predicted, taking the responses as a whole on each orientation, with the notable exception of the _time_ orientation. In this case, the church leaders were more modern, with the difference being significant at the .05 level.

The latter finding is surprising in view of all the folklore which would support the opposite expectation. A possible explanation for it and for the lack of significant findings among the other orientations is the relative youth of the church leaders. While the archbishop was an older person, the members of his council were relatively young--the archbishop's chancellor was only 23 years old. Another possibility is that the archbishop and his council may be regarded as almost "superleaders." This statement refers to the fact that they are at the head of the religious hierarchy in Popayán. Therefore, they may be considered as "superleaders" in their positions relative to the positions which other leaders, such as the industrialists, hold among their own.

The degree of education attained by the church leaders relative to the industrialists may be a contributing factor to the surprisingly high ratings of the former on the value orientations. Another indication of their forward-looking ideas has been the nature of some of the recent masses in the city. Several folk masses have been conducted, and Popayán was the first city in Colombia to permit the performance of a ballet in the church.

Nevertheless, the industrialists were more modern on all except one orientation, as has been pointed out. The foregoing speculations represent an attempt to suggest plausible explanations of why the church leaders were not as traditional as had been expected.

### Hypothesis two

The value orientations of younger leaders (those less than 50 years of age) will be more modern than those of older leaders (those 50 years of age or older).

The null hypothesis was not rejected at the .05 level. The younger leaders did, however, report more modern orientations as a whole, and in all except the relational area. Additionally, the younger leaders were significantly more modern than the older ones in the man-nature orientation.

### Hypothesis three

The value orientations of leaders who had university training will be more modern than will those leaders who had no university training.

A university education is considered by many to be a liberalizing influence on people's ways of thinking. However, the null hypothesis was not rejected. Nevertheless, the university-trained leaders were more modern in all except the activity area.

### Hypothesis four

The value orientations of leaders who have studied in universities in the United States or in Western Europe will be more modern than will those of leaders who have studied only in Colombian universities.

Since the United States and Western Europe are highly industrialized and urbanized, it was felt that their people's value orientations would be more modern than those of Colombians. The influence of living and studying in such countries, therefore, was expected to be reflected in the reported value orientations of leaders who had been exposed.

The null hypothesis was not rejected at the .05 level of significance. In all orientations and as a whole, leaders who had studied in a university in the United States (n=8) revealed more modern value orientations than those who had studied in Western European universities (n=4). The Colombian-trained leaders (n=33) were less modern than those who studied in universities in the United States in the _time_ and _activity_ orientations and more modern in the remaining two areas. They were less modern than those trained in the United States but more modern than European-trained leaders as a whole. The small numbers of leaders trained outside of Colombia may be an extenuating factor in the lack of significant findings. Most of the leaders who had studied abroad had had some university training in Colombia as well. Thus, it is possible that they were not abroad long enough for their values to be affected significantly.

### Hypothesis five

The value orientations of leaders who attended only the Universidad del Cauca will be less modern than will those of leaders who attended other Colombian universities (based on the widely held belief that the Universidad del Cauca is a highly traditional institution).

The null hypothesis was not rejected. The leaders who had attended only the Universidad del Cauca (n=28) were slightly less modern on their orientations toward time and activity and as a whole across all the areas. The leaders who had attended other Colombian universities only (n=9) were less modern in the remaining two orientational areas.

As I see it, several possibilities exist here by way of explanation. First, the number of leaders who had not attended the Universidad del Cauca but who had attended other universities in Colombia was fairly small. Larger numbers might reveal different results. Another is that perhaps the influence of the socialization process in Popayán is so pervasive that it modifies changes in the values, beliefs, and attitudes engendered during the formative years. Still another is that the Universidad del Cauca is not in actuality as traditional with respect to other Colombian universities as has been supposed.

## Hypotheses Related to Students

The reader will recall that the schools in which the instrument was administered were selected according to the SES of their students (as well as their public or private status). This was done because we felt that differences in value orientations might be caused at least in part by a person's SES.

### Hypothesis six

The value orientations of students in higher SES level schools (both public and private) will be more modern than will those of students in the lower SES level schools.

The null hypothesis was rejected for the time orientation, but could not be rejected for any of the other areas at the .05 significance level. In fact, the low SES schools were more modern than were the higher ones on the activity and man-nature orientations, on both of which the difference was significant.

### Hypothesis seven

The value orientations of students in private schools will be more modern than will those of students in public schools.

Although the null hypothesis was not rejected at a significant level, students from the private sector were more modern as a whole and in all orientations except time. Thus, the directionality was as predicted, with the noted exception, although significance was not attained.

### Hypothesis eight

The value orientations of students in the private school of high SES will tend to be more modern than will those of students in the public school of low SES.

The null hypothesis was rejected at the .05 level for the time area, but it was not rejected for the others. In the activity and man-nature areas, in fact, the students in the low-public school were more modern. Across the orientations taken together, however, the students in the school of high private SES were more modern.

Hypothesis nine

There will be a direct correlation between the modernity of value orientations of students and the SES of the barrios in which they reside.

The SES levels of the barrios according to the numbers of students who reported living in them were: upper, 19; upper middle, 26; middle, 50; lower, 36; and "superlow," 6. ("Superlow" is a direct translation from the terminology of people in the Popayán Office of Planning.)

The null hypothesis could not be rejected, which was a disappointment because it had been expected that the SES level of barrio would be among the strongest indicators of social class and thus probably would be a powerful discriminating factor. Using a one-tailed t-test, the relational area was the only one which revealed significant hypothesized differences. In it, the upper-class barrio was more modern than the upper middle. They were both significantly more modern than the middle- and lower-SES barrios, but the "superlow"-SES barrio residents were second most modern in their value orientations.

As a whole, although no differences were significant at the .05 level, the value orientations of students, according to the barrio in which they resided and by degree of modernity, were: "superlow," upper middle, upper, middle, and lower. The reader should note that had more students from the "superlow" barrios been included in the study, perhaps the results would have been different. Nevertheless, their surprisingly high showings in the activity and relational orientations and as a whole may be an indication that they are attempting to overcompensate for their low social status.

It is well to stress at this point, as one can see by the numbers of students from each level of barrio, that very few people from the "superlow" barrios remain in school until they reach the final year of secondary school. Because of the relative lack of financial resources in the lowest SES level barrios, most young people who live therein must work in order to help out financially at home. Thus, the few who do complete a secondary education are highly selected. It may be that the selection process excludes all except the most highly motivated people in the lower level barrios, and that this would explain their relatively high standings on certain orientations. It should be pointed out that all except one student from the "superlow"-SES level of barrios attended lower SES schools.

### Hypothesis ten

The higher the occupational status of the father, the more modern will be the value orientations of the student.

The occupational status reported by students for their fathers correlated directly with the SES levels of the schools they attended. Of course, this finding was expected. The sons of fathers with the lowest occupational status were omitted from consideration because there were so few (n=4) that no meaningful generalization could be made by including them.

The null hypothesis was not rejected. In all except the relational orientation, the pattern was identical--the most modern value orientations were held by sons of fathers in white-collar occupations, followed by the sons of professionals and blue-collar workers, in that order.

### Hypothesis eleven

The higher the level of education received by fathers of students, the more modern will be their value profiles.

The level of education which students reported for their fathers was in direct correlation with the SES level of the schools which they attended. This, of course, is not surprising.

However, the null hypothesis could not be rejected. The responses across the various orientations were not arranged in a clearcut pattern, but the sons of fathers who had attended universities tended to be least modern in their value orientations. As a whole, the findings were exactly the reverse of those predicted, although the difference was not statistically significant at the .05 level.

### Hypothesis twelve

The value orientations of students will more closely resemble those they report for their fathers than those reported for their mothers.

Using a conceptual tool developed by Caudill and Scarr (1962), we are able to determine the distance between two value orientations. A distance is defined as "the smallest number of adjacent position rank reversals required to turn one [value orientation] into the other" (Caudill and Scarr, 1962:58).

The fathers, considered as a group, were only 10 distances away from their sons on all 22 items used in the questionnaire, while the mothers' total of distances from their sons was 28. Students saw their mothers as being farthest from their value orientations on items relating to man-nature and nearest in the activity area, which was the only orientation in which fathers were at a greater distance than were mothers.

Using a sign test (see Downie and Heath, 1965:236-237), the null hypothesis was rejected.

A partial explanation for this finding may be machismo (loosely translated, manliness), which has long been a strong value in Latin America. It may be evidenced by one's having a large number of children, being "tough," religiously avoiding doing anything which might be considered by others as suggesting even the slightest trace of femininity, and the like--in short, being a "real man." Since the students were seniors in high school, they evidently were already feeling quite strongly many of the pressures of machismo. Therefore, I believe that they are more likely to identify with their fathers to a degree even in reporting opinions.

### Hypothesis thirteen

The value orientations of the students will be more modern than those of the leaders.

Traditionally, young people are supposed by many to be idealistic and liberal in their ways of thinking. We associate this manner of thinking with modernity.

Nevertheless, the null hypothesis could not be rejected. The only orientation in which the students were more modern was relational, and this difference was minute. On all the other orientations, the leaders were more modern. All these differences, including the total, were significant, with the exception of the activity area.

My guess for the reason behind this finding would be that leaders are more modern-oriented than are nonleaders (students being nonleaders). If we compare the value orientations of leaders with those of the parents of the students, we find that leaders are more modern. These two groups may be considered to represent essentially the same generation. If we assume that the students' reports of their parents' value orientations are basically accurate, then we may agree that leaders are more modern than the rest of the population. Actually, parents of the students do not represent a true cross-section of all Payaneses, because the lower-class child, as previously mentioned, usually attends school for only short periods, if indeed at all. Therefore, value orientations of parents from the lower social strata are excluded, for the most part, from consideration. Reports of two excellent studies of the value orientations of lower class Colombians (both were conducted in Cali) are found in Sister Leslie Ellen (forthcoming) and Cimino (forthcoming).

### Hypothesis fourteen

The value orientations of students will be more modern than those they attribute to their mothers.

The null hypothesis was rejected for all except the activity orientation at the .05 level.

Hypothesis fifteen

The value orientations of students will be more modern than those they report for their fathers.

Again, the null hypothesis was rejected for all except the activity orientation.

It thus appears that there is a hierarchical ranking of value orientations among the various groups of respondents in Popayán. Leaders appear to be most modern, followed by students, then by students' fathers, and finally by students' mothers. The differences between the latter three groups were each significant, except for the activity orientation. The leaders, it will be remembered, were more modern than the students except in the relational area. Leaders were more modern than the mothers in all areas, with statistically significant differences in all except the activity and relational areas. They were significantly more modern than students' fathers except in the relational orientation.

Thus, the idea of a rank ordering of the modernity of the value orientations of these respective groups is borne out statistically.

At this point, no further conclusions will be drawn. The author presents some inter-city comparisons in the chapter which follows, returning in the final chapter to a consideration of the significance and implications of the findings as a whole.

# CHAPTER 8

# VALUE ORIENTATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT

A major hypothesis which has guided the entire project from which data for this dissertation were taken has been that a city's rate and stage of social and economic development are affected by the value orientations of the people who make the major decisions in that city.[1] This chapter will compare the value orientations of selected people in the cities at either end of the development continuum (Medellín and Popayán) in an attempt to gain some insight into the relationships suggested by the cited hypothesis.

## A Glance at the Most-Developed City[2]

This section is included in order to give the reader some perception of the nature of Medellín and its people. Later, comparisons will be made between the value orientations of leaders and students in Medellín and in Popayán in an effort to suggest some of the relations between value orientations and development.

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[1] We know, of course, that the situation in terms of development in which a community finds itself cannot be attributed solely or even principally to those leaders who are in power at a given time. Rather, the current stage of development must be considered the end product of decisions made by and actions taken by leaders through--in the Colombian case--hundreds of years. Nevertheless, our assumption of a basic personality type for leaders in Popayán must be taken into consideration in this matter.

[2] Parts of this particular section were developed with the assistance of David W. Coombs, collaborator in the project. Grateful acknowledgment is expressed to him for his help.

Medellín, capital of the Department of Antioquia, is the second-largest city in Colombia, following Bogotá. Its population in 1969 was estimated to be 1,030,000 (Colombia Today, 1970:5). This number represents an enormous increase over the 1905 census, which reported 53,936 residents (Asociación Colombiana de Facultades de Medicina, n.d.:14).

Medellín is located slightly more than six degrees north of the equator at an altitude of almost 4,900 feet above sea level (Atlas de Colombia, n.d.:47). The location helps make for a delightful climate, with the temperature varying around 70 degrees, but not changing much from one part of the year to another.

The city is one of the most highly developed industrial centers of Colombia, as has been mentioned previously. Industrialization began to evolve there around the turn of this century and has made rapid increases since then. Among its principal industrial products are textiles, cigarettes, paints, aluminumware, beer, plastics, machinery, steel pipe, electrical appliances, phonograph records, matches, candies, hats, zippers, and pressure cookers. In 1962, the number of industrial establishments located in Medellín was 1,681 (Aragón, 1963:674).

The tourist who enters Medellín for the first time over one of its superhighways is immediately struck with the impression of a clean, orderly, energetic, and modern industrial city. At the same time, the concrete-lined Medellín River which runs along the north-south highway appears to be incongruous with respect to the total picture (after one gains a more complete knowledge of the city and its people, it seems to fit better). Despite this seeming detraction, one cannot avoid noticing the well-landscaped and well-cared-for medians and circles on the highway. Even most of the factories are appealing to the eye and contribute much to the picture of a vibrant city which is loved by the people who live there.

Even before I went to Colombia, I had heard of the enterprising nature of the Antioqueños (people from Antioquia--department of which Medellín is capital). They have been described as the go-getters, the achievers, of Colombia. Parsons (1949:1) characterizes them as "energetic and thrifty . . . the self-styled Yankees of South America . . . shrewd, aggressive individuals." David McClelland (1961) would say that they have a high motivation for achievement.

We have established the fact that Medellín is a highly-developed industrial center. Yet it is located in a geographical position which appears extremely unfavorable to urbanization and to the establishment of large commercial and industrial firms. It would be fair to say that the city has developed, not because it was advantageously situated, but in spite of seriously impeding mountain barriers on all sides. Other regions had decided economic advantages but were slower to industrialize. In fact, if one were attempting to found a city in Colombia with a geographic location propitious to development, the site of Medellín would be among the last chosen. Yet as we have noted, it has become second only to Bogotá among Colombian cities. Various writers have attempted to find reasons why it has grown so rapidly in comparison with the rest of the country.

Hagen (1962:364) singles out the Antioqueños' enterprising nature as a major reason for their rapid development. In fact, he states that it is the enterprise of the Antioqueños which explains the beginning of economic growth in Colombia as a whole, not just in Antioquia. He reports that almost half (46.6 percent) of the important industrial enterprises in the departments of Cundinamarca, Valle delCauca, and Antioquia (the departments with the greatest evidences of urbanization and industrialization) were originated by Antioqueños (1962:364). He notes that

> . . . if the Bogotanos, in their more favorable economic environment, had been as effective entrepreneurs as the Antioqueños, rapid economic growth in Colombia would have begun half a century sooner than it did, or around 1850; whereas if the Antioqueños had been no more effective entrepreneurs than the Bogotanos or Caleños, rapid economic development would not have begun until half a century later than it did, or around 1950 (Hagen, 1962:365).

Thus, Hagen attributes the difference in rate of growth to the people of Antioquia themselves and especially to what he calls their "creative personalities." Of course, Colombians from other areas have creative personalities, too. However, the Antioqueños tend to turn their creativity toward industrialization, while Romoli (1941), a North American who has spent a long time in Colombia, noted that the Bogotano is more likely to be intellectually inclined. The Bogotanos and the Payaneses are more apt to turn their creative efforts toward literature, especially poetry, and politics. On the other hand, the Antioqueño feels that he must be working with something practical--something that he can cause to grow and develop.

Many Colombians have felt that ethnic differences were the reason for Medellín's prominence in industrial affairs. Popular legend has it that the Antioqueños' keen business nature results from the fact that many of them are of Jewish blood. Robledo (1963) reports that this belief concerning their ancestry probably began early in the 18th century. Hagen (1962) discovered no basis for the theory. Instead, he found people of Basque origin in executive positions much more often than justified by their relative numbers in the population and reckons that their influence was contributory, perhaps to a small degree, to the Antioqueños' success in business.

Social and judicial reforms which permitted the Antioqueños to take an initiative in the development of themselves and of their environment began through a vigorous campaign to change the current conditions of life and of making a living which was instituted in 1874 by Juan Antonio Mon y Velarde, a royal inspector (Parsons, 1947:5). The dynamic reform program which he proposed and helped implement brought about an upsurge of activity which helped to enable the area to begin its transformation from a poor, backward region to a wealthy, progressive one.

A part of Mon y Velarde's reforms included a redistribution of land and mining concessions and a welfare program. It was at about this time that mining began to be profitable, but it also involved large risks. Therefore, the Antioqueños formed corporation-like associations to spread the risks. Their experiences in these confederations gave them a feeling for cooperation, helped them to make more judicious assessment of risks, and enabled them to gain familiarity with machinery and mechanical operations. Working in the mines caused them to value work, especially work with their hands. An equally beneficial aspect was the bolstering of their confidence in themselves and in their competence in business dealings (Hagen, 1962:374).

In Bogotá and Cali, profits from the increase in trading which resulted because of improvements in transportation facilities in the 1930's were converted into status through the training of sons for the professions and through the buying of land in order to become landed gentry. These two alternatives were lacking in Medellín, whose entrepreneurs invested their profits in industry. This fact doubtless contributed to the early establishment of industry there.

The Antioqueños, as we have mentioned, were people who worked with their hands and who were rumored to be of Jewish origin. Furthermore, during the colonial period, they were extremely backward, and residents of other important cities considered the people from Medellín to be inferior in status to themselves. This condescending attitude still persists. The idea has perhaps been spurred by the economic prowess of the Antioqueños, but Hagen (1962:377) notes that it was in evidence even before their great economic successes. He suggests that the tension created by these attitudes, which he refers to as the withdrawal of status respect, in turn caused basic personality changes which were conducive to creative personalities. The Antioqueños found that they could prove their worth to their fellow Colombians through their economic accomplishments, and this is the direction which their efforts have taken.

Louis C. Schaw (1968) compares the leaders of the cities of Popayán and Medellín. He characterizes the elite of Popayán as patricians, which is, I think, a just assumption. According to him, the primitive ethnocentrism of the city would permit it to develop into an urban center but not into a metropolis because "Popayán is the type of city that has as an essential component of its character the assumption that as a way of life it represented the ideal in human association" (Schaw, 1968:95).

The Antioqueños were more nomadic in the sense that they were not rooted to the land. Their interests lay more in El Dorado than in agricultural pursuits. The development and prosperity of agriculture and commerce in Antioquia corresponded closely with similar cycles in the gold-mining industry. Schaw sees the people of Antioquia as having

> developed into a dominant social segment of industrial and commercial entrepreneurs who are colonizing the country economically, as well as geographically and agriculturally. The Antioqueños are a mixture of harsh managerial, nomadic, and entrepreneurial traits; at the same time they remain among the most pious, but irreverent, devoted family men and sensualists--migrant, but deeply rooted; bold, but careful; as open to encounter as any member of a North American Chamber of Commerce, but close and secretive like a medieval craftsman; they are among the most progressive and the most conservative in manners, particularly in family relations; among their women are matrons who have raised the largest families in Colombia, but who at the same time are national figures, socially, politically, and culturally. Antioquia is an unexpected mixture of the very modern and the oldest in social tradition; a society in transition. This is a people whose sense of identity and of continuity is both vivid and real; theirs is a special synthesis that thrives, changes, and undergoes transition while it remains rooted in a lasting sense of collective identity (Schaw, 1968:99).

Through the experiences and the years, the Antioqueños came to share a sense of collective identity. Carrasquilla (1953) traces this development in a number of his works.

Schaw interviewed several members of the elite in both Popayán and Medellín. In the interview, the Thematic Apperception Test was applied to each. The preliminary results have been reported in Chapter 4 of this dissertation, as they were published in Hagen (1962). In a later work, Schaw describes his findings in somewhat greater detail. He summarizes the tone of life of the Payanés (the "traditionalist") as " . . . looking to the past and its excellence, laboring under the exacting models he emulates, surrendering ambition to shared values, limiting change by denying possible historical alternatives" (Schaw, 1968:266). The Antioqueño (the "entrepreneurial") " . . . proves to be a local replica of the self-made man, ready to challenge convention, willing to pursue distant and receding goals, impatient with binding ties, and desirous of freedom of action" (Schaw, 1968:266).

With a general picture of Medellín and a contrast of the two cities, we now turn to the findings.

## Testing of the Hypotheses

### Hypothesis Sixteen

The value orientations of leaders in Medellín will be more modern than will those of leaders in Popayán.

The null hypothesis was not refuted. Leaders from Medellín were more modern on the *time*, *man-nature*, and *relational* orientations.

The differences in means between the two groups of leaders, however, were so small that although the leaders from Popayán were more modern in only the activity orientation, they were slightly more modern as a whole.

These findings, of course, are not in line with what had been expected. Assuming that there really is a difference in the rate of development in the two cities, which has been amply attested in various writings, statistics, and our own observations, why should they not be significantly different in the value orientations of their leaders? Despite the lack of conclusive supporting evidence, I am not yet willing to abandon the idea that values and development are related.

One might argue that the national character (see Buchanan and Cantril, 1953) of the Colombian is so all-pervasive that living in different regions does not mean that he has different ways of thinking and doing things. Careful observations on the part of others in the research group suggest that such is not the case. The testing of the next hypothesis will throw some more light on the matter.

### Hypothesis Seventeen

The value orientations of students in Medellín will be more modern than will those of students in Popayán.

The null hypothesis was not refuted in the predicted direction. Only in the activity area were the Medellín students more modern-oriented, and that by only a very slim margin. Additionally, the Popayán students were significantly more modern, at the .05 level, in the time and man-nature relations and as a whole.

This finding is not at all as predicted. It also dispels, to a certain degree, the notion of a national character which some would attribute to the findings for the leaders from the preceding hypothesis. What it does suggest is the possibility of a communality of leadership (see Stouffer, 1955).

That this may be true is supported by a comparison of the values of leaders with those of the parents of the students who were interviewed. The reader should bear in mind that, as has been suggested previously, leaders and students' parents represent essentially the same generation. Therefore, if the idea of a national character mentioned previously is held to, values of these two groups should be basically the same.

Such is not the case. The value orientations of leaders in Popayán are significantly more modern than those which the students attributed to their fathers in all except the relational orientation. In Medellín, the same pattern is found, although the difference in the activity area fell short of statistical significance. This finding lends support to the notion of communality of leadership.

Students in Popayán reported value orientations for their fathers which were more modern than those attributed to fathers of Medellín students on all except the activity orientation. None of the differences, however, was significant.

We cannot, I think, assume the same communality of fathers as we did of leaders, because these data are taken from what students feel their fathers think. We might suggest, however, that students tend to view their fathers as less modern than themselves but in basically the same light from city to city.

The students' report of their mothers' value orientations do not vary significantly from city to city. The Popayán mothers were seen as being more modern than those of the mothers of Medellín students in all except the man-nature area, but none of the differences was significant.

A careful perusal of Table 2 reveals that the profiles of five groups--the Chilean working population, the Japanese, the Texans, the Mormons, and the Italians--are those which most nearly resemble the value profiles of the Colombian groups. Of these, the Chilean working population is the only group for which the entire range of value orientations was tested and reported. Its value profile is the only one in the table which, in my way of thinking, is totally and completely modern. The Texans and Mormons may fall into the latter category as well. However, at the time they were studied, the value orientations instrument had not been sufficiently developed to include the Being-in-Becoming activity orientation.

The study of value orientations among Japanese students allows for a comparison with those of students in the present study. Although the results in the activity area were not reported for the former, the Popayán students are the Colombian student group which most nearly resembles the Japanese students on the remaining orientations.

Table 2

A Comparison of Findings in the Present Study with Others Using the Kluckhohn Theory of Variations in Value Orientations*

| | Time | Activity | Man-nature | Relational |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Present Study | | | | |
| Popayán | | | | |
| Leaders | F>Pr>Pa** | Bib>D>Be | O>W>S | C>L>I |
| Students | F>Pr>Pa | Bid>D>Be | O>W>S | I>L>C |
| Mothers | F>Pa>Pr | Bid>D>Be | O>W>S | I>C>L |
| Fathers | F>Pr>Pa | Bid>D>Be | O>S>W | I=L>C |
| Medellín | | | | |
| Leaders | F>Pr>Pa | Bib>D>Be | O>W>S | C>L>I |
| Students | F>Pr>Pa | Bib>D>Be | O>W>S | C>L>I |
| Mothers | F>Pa>Pr | Bib>D>Be | W>O>S | I>C>L |
| Fathers | F>Pr>Pa | Bib>D>Be | O>W>S | L>I>C |
| Cali | | | | |
| Leaders | F>Pr>Pa | Bib>D>Be | O>W>S | C>L>I |
| Students | F>Pr>Pa | Bib>D>Be | O>S>W | L>C>I |
| Mothers | F>Pr>Pa | Bib>D>Be | O>W>S | I>C>L |
| Fathers | F>Pr>Pa | Bib>D>Be | O>W>S | L>I>C |
| Sánchez (1967:25-27) | | | | |
| Chilean students | Pr>F>Pa | Bib>D>Be | O>W>S | I>C>L |
| Chilean working population | F>Pr>Pa | D>Bib>Be | O>W>S | I>C>L |
| Caudill and Scarr (1962:67) | | | | |
| Japanese | Fu>Pr>Pa | not tested | O>W>S | I>C>L |
| Hutchinson (1968:83-88) | | | | |
| Brazilians | Pr | not tested | S | C |

Table 2--continued

| | Time | Activity | Man-Nature | Relational |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kluckhohn, et al. (1961:351) | | | | |
| Spanish-Americans | Pr>F>Pa | Be>D | S>O>W | I>L>C |
| Texans | F>Pr>Pa | D>Be | O>W>S | I>C>L |
| Mormons | F>Pr>Pa | D>Be | O>W>S | I>C>L |
| Zunis | Pr>Pa>F | D>Be | W>S>O | C>L>I |
| Navahos | Pr>Pa>F | D>Be | W>O>S | C>L>I |
| Boston Study (Scarr, 1970) | | | | |
| Barbadians | Pr>F>Pa | D>Bib>Be | S>W>O | I>C>L |
| Italians | F>Pr>Pa | Bib>D>Be | S>O>W | I>C>L |
| Irish | F>Pr>Pa | Bib>D>Be | S>W>O | C>L>I |
| Schneiderman (1964) | | | | |
| Social workers-teachers | F>Pr>Pa | D | O | I |
| Relief patients | Pr | Be | S>W>O | I>C>L |

*The other studies, except the one conducted in Boston, used the "rural" version of the instrument as published in Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961:80-90).

**The interpretation of the abbreviations used in this table is the same as for those in Table 1.

It should be noted, however, that the instruments used in eliciting the orientations for the two groups were different--the "rural" version was used with the Japanese students. This factor, however, is believed not to be of significant importance, since the two versions of the instrument are thought to be comparable.

The implications of results discussed in this and the preceding chapter are considered in the chapter which follows.

# CHAPTER 9

# SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Traditional economic theory thus far has not provided a satisfactory explanation for development and social change. While many questions relating to such phenomena remain unanswered, there is no doubt that such factors as capital accumulation and related economic variables are essential determinants in the development process. Yet it has been noted that societies with apparently equal opportunities and at similar stages of development have experienced markedly different rates of growth (see Hagen, 1962; and Ayal, 1963). Observing this type of circumstance, we are led to ask " . . . why some societies do, and others do not, behave in ways that bring about sustained economic progress" (Ayal, 1963:35).

The answer to this question lies partially, I believe, beyond the boundaries of the discipline of economics. " . . . Changes in political and social institutions, or investments by foreigners will not, by themselves, bring about sustained economic development, unless the fundamental human values in the society are conducive to development" (Ayal, 1963:35). The same author indicates that he believes that it is the value system which provides the most comprehensive explanation of development (Ayal, 1963:68). As was mentioned in Chapter 3 of this work, other writers agree with him.

As noted previously, a major, overriding hypothesis of this project has been that a city's stage and rate of development depend in part on the values which are held by its key decision-makers. However, few findings which would support this hypothesis have been substantiated statistically by the investigation reported in this dissertation. In fact, some of the findings would appear to point toward a contrary relationship.

Naturally, we wonder why our predictions, hopefully based on what we believe to be sound sociological theory, have not been supported by the findings. The present chapter deals with the problem of accounting for the inconclusive or contradictory results.

## The Problem of Cross-Cultural Comparisons

In cross-cultural comparisons, the chance always exists that the basis of comparison between the two cultures is unequal. That possibility cannot be ruled out definitely in the present instance, but every precaution has been taken to avoid this pitfall.

The research instrument was painstakingly translated into Spanish, and I feel that there is little likelihood that it was not roughly equivalent to the English version. Nevertheless, the possibility does exist that some of the items may not have been truly comparable in Colombia and in the United States. For example, item number 18 (a man-nature orientation), which deals with earthquakes, was not well received because there had recently been an earthquake and because these people have experienced many earthquakes. Here in the United States, where we are not threatened by earthquakes so often, people would be more likely to respond to the item with a more positive viewpoint. Nevertheless, I would think that items which are not truly cross-cultural should be roughly comparable within the Colombian scene. Therefore, the relative lack of differentiation between each of the study groups in the two cities should not have been caused by this factor.

The approach used in this dissertation--comparing the proximity of Colombians' value orientations to those imputed to middle-class people in the United States--is one which is more or less current. However, as has been carefully pointed out, " . . . it is by no means clear (1) what aspects of present day modern developed societies are the results and what are the causes of development; (2) what features of these societies, although present, were not contributory to and could even have been a drag on development" (Ayal, 1963:38). Individualism is a good example of what Ayal is referring to in his second point in the preceding quotation. While individualism is assumed to have been an important factor to the people of the United States in their quest for development, and thus, by implication, should be a prime determinant in the modernity (or lack thereof) of the Colombians and of people in other less-developed countries, it was a deterrent to development in Thailand (Ayal, 1963:38).

Therefore, our ideas about the values which are most conducive to development may be wrong. Or, they may be correct for the United States and some other countries but may not contribute to development in still others. Furthermore, as Ayal correctly asserts, they may impede the development process in some countries. Thus, we must be very careful not to assume that it is the values that we hold, and only those, which can lead to social and economic development. Further research into factors which are related both positively and negatively to development is needed.

Closely akin to this idea is the fact that the value orientations which Kluckhohn attributes to the middle-class people of the United States are referred to as being "modern." We assume them to be modern because our nation is modern. In Chapter 8 of the present work, we noted that the value orientations of the leaders were significantly more modern than those attributed by students to their parents. These parents were largely middle-class Colombians. Could it then be the case that the value orientations of United States middle-class people are not those of our leaders? I think this is very possible. If such were the case, then we would not be comparing the value orientations of our leaders with those of their leaders, and thus the reasoning behind one of our basic assumptions would be invalid.

## Relative Importance of Different Value Orientations

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961:19) suggest that " . . . it may prove to be the case that some one or two of the value orientations are more crucially important to the patterning of behavior than others." Yet they give no indication as to which orientation is most important in this respect, if such be the case.

No value orientation was always in the direction predicted. However, the *time* orientation was the one for which the groups on different variables most often were identical in rank with the predictions. The time orientation was likewise the one on which the greatest consensus in terms of the dominant choice was obtained.

On the other hand, the activity and man-nature orientations were less likely to be in the predicted direction. The reader should be reminded here that the activity and relational profiles were not modern in terms of our model. Additionally, there was strong evidence that the relational profile was in a rapid state of change, assuming Kluckhohn's theory to be correct.

On the basis of these limited findings, I am hypothesizing that there is a given order, at least in the Colombian cities studied, in the change of value orientations. This order, from first to last, is time, man-nature, relational, and activity. If this be the case, then we can distinguish the stage at which a given group of Colombians is found in the process of change to a congruous value profile.

Kluckhohn suggests (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961:21) that there may be some value systems which restrict the human potential more than do others. Normally, with our Protestant Ethic background, we would expect a Doing activity orientation to be essential to development. The Colombians, it will be recalled, were Being-in-Becoming oriented in this area. Therefore, we would not expect them to be modernizing as rapidly as would be the case if they were Doing oriented. Yet the leaders in Medellín are widely known for their prowess in industrialization and in business and organizational transactions. The Payaneses held the same viewpoints, and there is no need to remind the reader of their traditionalistic outlook. The evidence presented does not support this aspect of Kluckhohn's theory and our assumption concerning it.

Therefore, if some value systems are more restrictive than others, then it may be the particular combination of value orientations and/or the goodness of fit of the total profile in Colombia which has retarded development. Nevertheless, there is not much difference in the orientations of leaders from the two cities. The present writer, on the basis of evidence already presented, wishes to suggest that the value orientations of the Colombians are in a process of change. For this reason, I believe, the responses are not as greatly differentiated as would be the case if the change was not occurring. Moreover, the evidence of rapid change which was found in the relational orientation points up the fact that these changes may be causing some of the serious problems of personal and social adjustment in Colombia (see Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961:47).

## Values vs. Value Orientations

Perhaps the most likely explanation is found in the possibility that there may be values which are not included in the Kluckhohn value orientations which are important factors in the development process. I would suggest that the core values of the groups might provide a necessary clue. Much evidence already discussed in this dissertation points in that direction. There are too many impressionistic indications of differences in values for me to be convinced that some of these differences should not be revealed by empirical study. The possibility exists, of course, that there may be additional value orientations which have not been isolated yet and which thus were not measured in the present study. If such is not the case, then I would still insist that there are other values which play significant roles in development.

Furthermore, we should attempt to establish some kind of causal relationship between a people's value system and the modes of behavior which are associated with social and economic development, and, more specifically, which values affect development, as this dissertation has attempted to do. One way of doing this might be through the intermediary of "propensities"--" . . . internalized behavioristic and instrumental values, or predispositions to action, which have their origin in the value system" (Ayal, 1963:39). Following this line of reasoning, a person may have modernistic values, but they may fail to be implemented if he is not disposed to realize them.

One may argue that the activity orientation measured this variable. While the measured difference in this area was not significant in many cases, observation and economic indices would suggest that there are obvious differences. Therefore, I would suggest that the study be repeated, using an instrument based upon the idea of propensities. Likewise, much more research needs to be conducted into the factors, and especially the values, which lead to development. What is being suggested is merely that some values are more conducive to modernization than are others. If this is true, then the Kluckhohn theory of variations in value orientations has not provided us with an answer as to what these values were in Colombia. Again, further research is recommended.

Our research has shown that the Colombians do have some of what have been considered to be values which would permit the generating of social and economic development. However, I am suggesting that if certain combinations of value orientations are indeed more conducive to modernization than others, then based on the findings of this investigation, there are other, underlying values which affect the implementation or activation of the value orientations.

Perhaps a factor which should be considered in closing is the supposed discrepancy between expressed values and actual behavior. A careful analysis of the role areas, once the concept is clarified, may help to remove some of the tentativeness from this question.

# APPENDIX I

## ENGLISH-LANGUAGE VERSION OF THE VALUE ORIENTATIONS INSTRUMENT

### 1. Help for Family relational

A man has had financial trouble of some kind and must seek help in order that he and his family can get through a difficult period. Here are three ways of getting help about which we wish your judgment.

(Collateral) Would it be best if he depended mainly on his brothers and sisters or on some close group of relatives and friends to help him out as much as each can?

(Individual) Would it be best for him to try to raise the money by himself, on his own, from an outside organization which deals with such problems?

(Lineal) Would it be best for him to go to a recognized leader--a respected person of experience and authority in the family or community--and ask him for help and advice in handling the problem?

### 2. Ideal Job activity

Three young married men were talking about their notions of the ideal job. Here is what each one said:

(Being) The first said: The kind of job I would like best to have if I could is one which is not too demanding of my time and energy. I like to have time to enjoy myself and don't want a job which makes me feel I must always be competing.

(Doing) The second said: Ideally, I would like a competitive job--one which lets me show what I can accomplish in a line of work for which I am suited.

(Being-in-Becoming) The third said: Ideally, I would like the kind of job which would let me develop different kinds of interests and talents. I would rather have an understanding of life and people than be successful in one particular field.

### 3. Bringing up Children

time

Some people were talking one day about the ways in which young children should be brought up. Here are three different ideas which were expressed.

(Past) Some people said that young children should always be brought up according to the traditions of the past--the time-proven ways of doing things. They believe that the traditional ways are best, and that when forgotten or not followed things go wrong.

(Present) Some people say that young children should be reared in the traditional ways, but that it is wrong to follow them exclusively. These people believe that it is best when each new generation adjusts to any situation by adopting whatever new ideas and methods may help them, but keeping whatever of the old they like--that is, they think it just depends on the situation.

(Future) Some other people don't place much faith in bringing up young children in the traditional ways--which they think are interesting only as stories about what used to be. These people think it best if their children are brought up so as to make them able to have new ideas and discover new and better ways of living.

### 4. Length of Life

man-nature

Three men were talking about whether people themselves can do anything to make the lives of men and women longer. Here is what each said:

(Over) One said: It is already true that people like doctors and others are finding the way to add many years to the lives of most men by discovering new medicines, studying foods and doing other things such as vaccinations. If people will pay attention to all these new things they will almost always live longer.

(Subjugation) The second said: I really do not believe that there is much human beings themselves can do to make the lives of men and women longer. It is my belief that every person has a set time to live and when that time comes it just comes.

(With) The third said: I believe that there is a plan of life which works to keep all living things moving together, and if a man will learn to live his whole life in accord with that plan he will live longer than other men.

5. Expect in Life time

People often have very different ideas about what has gone before and what we can expect in life. Here are three ways of thinking about these things.

(Present) Some people believe that man's greatest concern should be with the present time in which he lives. They say that the past has gone and the future is too far away and too uncertain to be of concern. It is only the present which is real.

(Past) Some people think that the ways of the past (ways of the old people or traditional ways) were the most right and the best, and as changes come things get worse. These people think the best way to live is to keep up the old ways and try to bring them back when they are lost.

(Future) Some people believe that it is almost always the ways of the future--the ways which are still to come--which will be best and they say that even though there are sometimes small setbacks, change brings improvements in the long run. These people think the best way to live is to look a long time ahead, work hard and give up many things now so that the future will be better.

6. Technological Change man-nature

Three persons were talking one day about the changes which science has brought about in the way people live. They mentioned all such things as changes in farming methods, in transportation, in the field of medicine, in types of food and housing. All agreed some changes had come but each of them had quite different ideas about what the long run effects would be. Here is what each one said:

(Subjugation) The first one said: It is good that such advances have been made, but in the long run one has to be lucky to have things go right in life. Science can help a lot with some kinds of things people come up against, but it will never be able to help much with the really big things in life. There are many things which just come to pass and everyone, if he is smart, will learn to accept this fact.

(Over) The second one said: I don't agree with you. My view is that man can and must learn to control the forces of nature. We have already gone a very long way and it is my belief that in time there will be scientific ways to control or overcome most things.

(With) The third one said: Perhaps you both have something to say, but in my opinion what matters most is that people learn to keep the balance between themselves and the forces of nature. It is my belief that human beings and the great forces of nature are all one whole--that is, related parts of a total universe, and we can expect the most when we work to fit in with and live with nature.

### 7. Children's Character

activity

Three parents were talking about the kind of character they wanted their young children to have. Here are three different opinions that were expressed.

(Being-in-Becoming) One parent said: I want my children to learn to be creative in a number of ways. I hope they develop an interest and ability in following the various paths which lead to understanding and wisdom.

(Being) A second parent said: I want my children to grow up able to express themselves freely, to get a kick out of life in whatever situation they find themselves.

(Doing) A third parent said: I want my children to have the drive to make something of themselves, the ambition to "get up and go." That way they'll be successful and achieve something in their chosen path.

### 8. Appeal of Religion

activity

Three people were talking about what it is about religion that appeals to them. Here is what each said:

(Being-in-Becoming) Religion appeals to me because the wisdom in its teachings broadens me and helps me to understand better the manysidedness of life.

(Being) The second said: Religion appeals to me because I enjoy the beauty and drama of it, and I like the feelings which come from participating in the services.

(Doing) I think religion appeals to me because it teaches people that accomplishing things for themselves and society is the right way.

9. Job Decision time

Three young unmarried men had finished their schooling and had to decide what kind of work they wished to go into.

(Past) One decided to go into the kind of occupation which others in his family before him had followed. He believed the best way is to hold and strengthen the traditions of the past.

(Future) The second sought for the kind of work opportunities which offered considerable chance for future success. He believed it best to look to new developments in the future, even though he might have to start off in a position less good than others available at the time.

(Present) The third decided to take the best job which came his way and which gave him the money he needed to get along in the present time. He believed it foolish to think much about either the past which has gone by, or the future which he thought too uncertain to count on.

10. Inheritance relational

When a father or mother dies and leaves property, there are different ways in which the property can be distributed among the children and managed by them. Here are three ways:

(Lineal) In some places it is thought best that the ownership, or if not the ownership at least the management, of all the property be put into the hands of one selected person--usually the eldest son.

(Collateral) In other places the sons and daughters all share in the property but all are expected to stick together and manage things as a family group. If some one person is ever needed to make certain decisions, all the heirs will discuss the matter and come to an agreement as to the one best suited to do so.

(Individual) In still other places it is thought best that each son and daughter take his or her own share of the property and manage it on his own, independent of the other brothers or sisters.

11. Philosophy of Life man-nature

Three people were talking about the need for having some philosophy of life--such as religion. They had different ideas on the subject:

(With) One said: Man is part of the grand plan of nature. Having a philosophy of life helps me to understand this plan and to live in the ways to keep myself in tune with that total plan.

(Subjugation) The second one said: As I see it, there are many natural and supernatural forces over which man will never gain control. A philosophy of life is necessary to help men accept and adjust to their fate on this earth.

(Over) The third said: I'm afraid I don't agree with either of you. I think man can do as much or as little as he wishes to overcome these natural and supernatural forces. For me a philosophy of life is necessary to teach men how to rise above these forces and shape their own destiny.

12. Teaching Young relational

Three mothers from different kinds of families were talking about the ways in which children should be taught. Here is what each one said:

(Individual) The first mother said: I believe children should be taught, when still quite young, to stand on their own two feet, to make their own decisions, and to take responsibility for themselves. People get along best when they can make their own mistakes and profit from them, and when they learn how to be independent enough of their families to go off on their own--sometimes even at great distances.

(Lineal) The second said: I believe that young children should be trained first to obey and respect their elders--their parents and grandparents. It is the elders of the family who have the greatest wisdom and people get along best when they are trained to accept and respect this wisdom.

(Collateral) The third said: I believe that young children should be taught to respect and keep ties with their close relatives--father, mother, sisters, brothers, etc. People get along best when they have a large group of close relatives upon whom they can always depend for help and advice, and whom they, too, can help.

13. Religious ceremonies time

Some people in a community like your own saw that the church services (religious ceremonies) were changing from what they used to be.

(Future) Some people were really pleased because of the changes in religious ceremonies. They felt that new ways are usually better than old ones, and they like to keep everything--even ceremonies--moving ahead.

(Past) Some people felt that in changing the ceremonies much of the old tradition would be lost and that the church would not have the same meaning any more.

(Present) Some people felt that the old ways for religious ceremonies might be best but you just can't hang onto them. It makes life easier just to accept some changes as they come along.

14. High School Students man-nature

Some high school students were discussing which of the books they were reading and studying in their various courses they really liked most.

(Over) One said: The books I like most show me how other people have conquered their problems. I like the picture of mankind over the centuries struggling with all kinds of situations and somehow always managing to come out on top.

(With) The second said: I like best those books which tell of the ways in which men have learned to understand the great forces of nature and so adjust to them that man and nature are always seen as a whole in which each completes the other.

(Subjugation) The third said: I think the really great books are those whose characters show that they have learned to accept the fact that man is and always will be powerless to change the forces which are outside and beyond him.

15. Not Working activity

Three men were talking one day about the ways in which they liked to spend time when they were not working. Each had a different idea:

(Being) One man said that he had no definite ideas as to what he liked best to do when not working. Sometimes he did one thing, sometimes another--it just depended upon how he felt that day.

(Being-in-Becoming) Another said that he preferred to do things which would help him become a better, broader man. Sometimes he did physical things to build his body strength, sometimes mental things so that he might learn more. This, he said, was the best way.

(Doing) The third said he liked doing things that he could see results from--playing competitive games or building things. He felt that extra time was wasted unless one could show something for it.

### 16. Church Organization

relational

Some people were speaking about the way in which the churches they belonged to were organized and what this organization meant to them in leading their daily lives. Here are three opinions that were expressed:

(Collateral) The first one said: In my church all are made to feel a part of a great brotherhood which is held together by many common bonds. What it teaches us is that people must act together in unison and provide a brotherly kind of support and guidance.

(Individual) The second one said: In my church there is, of course, a minister and other officials but they do not offer guidance unless called upon. I like my kind of church because each person is made to feel that the relationship between God and man is an individual one and one must learn to take responsibility for his own acts.

(Lineal) The third one said: My church is different still. In it there is a long tradition of a clergy which has special powers and training for the guidance of people. In much of my life I do not feel myself adequate to decide alone what is best to do and I am happy to depend upon them for guidance and direction.

### 17. Need for Education

activity

Today there is, in almost every place in the world, talk about the need for education. But people have different ideas about the kind and amount of education that is desirable. Here are three ideas expressed by three different men:

(Doing) One man said: A good educational system is necessary so that people will learn well the skills and knowledge which will help them to become efficient and successful in whatever they undertake.

(Being) The second man said: I feel that going to school many years and being well-trained is fine for some people but certainly not for everyone. I for one believe it is much more important to do the things I feel like doing and to really enjoy life as I go along.

(Being-in-Becoming) The third man said: I don't agree with either of you. I think a fine and long education is important, but it should be used to make each man wiser and deeper. In this way, a person can develop more fully his knowledge of himself and mankind.

## 18. Natural Forces

man-nature

People often worry about such disasters as floods, earthquakes, hurricanes, and the like. One day several persons were discussing the power of God in relation both to man and to the natural forces which create these great events. Here is what each one said:

(With) One man said: It is my view that there should be a harmonious "oneness" or wholeness among God, the forces of nature, and living creatures. It is when men do not live in the proper ways to maintain (keep) this harmony that such disasters come.

(Over) The second man said: I do not believe that God uses his power directly to control the forces which bring earthquakes, floods, and the like. It is up to man himself to try to find out why such things happen and develop the ways of controlling and overcoming them.

(Subjugation) The third man said: I do not think the ways in which God uses his power to control the forces of nature can be known by man, and it is useless for people to think they can really conquer such things as earthquakes, floods and hurricanes. The best way is to accept things as they come and do the best you can.

## 19. Disaster in Family

man-nature

A man and his family were struck hard by disaster. There was much illness over a long period of time. Also, the father lost his job and had serious financial problems. Some people were discussing the man's problems and the reason for them.

(Subjugation) One person said: You can't really blame any man when such misfortune comes to him. Things like this just happen and there isn't much people themselves can do about it. One must learn to accept the bad along with the good.

(With) A second person said: Misfortunes of this kind happen when people do not follow the right and proper ways of living. When people live in ways to keep themselves in harmony with the great natural forces of life things almost always go well.

(Over) A third person said: It was probably the man's own fault. He should have taken steps to keep things from going so far wrong. If people use their heads they usually can find ways to overcome a great deal of their bad fortune.

## 20. Expectations about Change

time

### (a: Students)

Three young people were talking about what they thought their families would have one day as compared with their fathers and mothers. They each said different things.

(Future) The first said: I expect my family to be better off in the future than the family of my father and mother or relatives if we work hard and plan right. Things in this country usually get better for people who really try.

(Present) The second one said: I don't know whether my family will be better off, the same, or worse off than the family of my father and mother or relatives. Things always go up and down even if people do work hard. So one can never really tell how things will be.

(Past) The third one said: I expect my family to be about the same as the family of my father and mother or relatives. The best way is to work hard and plan ways to keep up things as they have been in the past.

### (b: Leaders)

Three older people were talking about what they thought their children would have when they were grown. Here is what each one said.

(Future) One said: I really expect my children to have more than I have had if they work hard and plan right. There are always good chances for people who try.

(Present) The second one said: I don't know whether my children will be better off, worse off, or just the same. Things always go up and down even if one works hard, so we can't really tell.

(Past) The third one said: I expect my children to have just about the same as I have had or bring things back as they once were. It is their job to work hard and find ways to keep things going as they have been in the past.

21. Ways to Live activity

There were three people talking about the way they liked to live. They had different ideas:

(Being) One said: What I care most about is to be free to do whatever I wish and whatever suits the way I feel. I don't always get much done but I enjoy life as I go along--that is the best way.

(Doing) A second said: What I care most about is accomplishing things--getting them done just as well or better than other people can do them. I like to see results and think that they're worth working for.

(Being-in-Becoming) The third said: What I care most about is thinking and acting in the ways which will develop many different sides of my nature. I may fail to do as well as others in the things which many people think are important, but if I am becoming a wiser and more understanding person, that is what suits me best.

22. Team Sports relational

We all know there are different kinds of sports and ways of organizing them. These three people all liked team sports (for example, football, baseball, hockey, basketball) but had different ideas about the type they felt was best.

(Individual) The first said: I like the kind of team sports which are organized in such a way that the individual is allowed to prove himself as an individual and get credit for it.

(Lineal) The second said: I like the kind of team sports where there is a definite leadership and organization and where everybody knows just where he fits in.

(Collateral) The third said: I like the kind of team sports where there is organization enough to keep things going, but where the main thing is that I can pull together with a bunch of people like myself.

# APPENDIX II

## SPANISH-LANGUAGE VERSION OF THE VALUE ORIENTATIONS INSTRUMENT

1. Ayuda a la familia

Un hombre ha tenido varios problemas financieros y debe buscar ayuda para que él y su familia puedan atravesar este período difícil. He aquí tres maneras de conseguir dicha ayuda sobre las cuales deseamos su juicio:

A. Sería mejor si buscara el apoyo de sus hermanos y hermanas o de un grupo cercano de familiares y amigos para que le ayuden a la medida de cado uno?

B. Sería mejor si tratara de conseguir el dinero por sí mismo, independientemente, pidiéndolo a una organización especializada que trata de estos asuntos?

C. Sería mejor si buscara un líder reconcido, una persona prominente y respetada con experiencia y autoridad de su familia o la comunidad y le pide ayuda y consejo para resolver su problema?

2. El trabajo ideal

Tres jóvenes casados hablaban sobre sus ideas del trabajo ideal. He aquí lo que cada uno dijo:

A. Dijo el primero de ellos: El tipo de trabajo que más me gustaría tener si se consigue, es el que no me exija ni demasiado tiempo ni esfuerzo. Me gusta tener tiempo para divertirme y no quisiera un trabajo en el cual siento que debo constantemente estar compitiendo con otros.

B. Dijo el segundo de ellos: Idealmente me gustaría el trabajo en que se compite con otros, en el cual puedo demostrar lo que soy capaz de lograr, en la clase de trabajo para la cual soy apto.

C. Dijo el tercero: Idealmente me gustaría la clase de trabajo que me permita desarrollar diferentes tipos de intereses y de talentos. Preferiría poder llegar a comprender la vida y la gente, que tener éxito en un campo específico de actividad.

## 3. Crianza de los niños

Varias personas conversaban un día sobre las maneras como deben criarse los niños. Se expresaron estas tres ideas distintas:

A. Algunas personas dijeron que a los niños se les debería criar siguiendo las tradiciones del pasado, o sea la forma de hacer las cosas que ha enseñado la experiencia. Creen que las formas tradicionales son las mejores y que cuando se olvidan o no se aplican las cosas andan mal.

B. Otras dijeron que a los niños se les debe criar siguiendo las formas tradicionales, pero que es equivocado insistir adherirse a ellas exclusivamente. Estas personas creen que es mejor cuando cada generación se adapta a cualquier situación adoptando cualesquiera nuevas ideas y métodos que les ayuden pero manteniendo aquellas tradiciones que les gustan. Es decir, piensan que depende de la situación que se presente.

C. Otras personas no dan mucha fé en criar a los niños siguiendo las maneras tradicionales, las cuales consideran solo como interesantes historias de como sucedían las cosas. Estas personas creen que la mejor manera es criar a sus niños para que tengan nuevas ideas y descubran maneras de vivir nuevas y mejores.

## 4. Duración de la vida

Tres hombres hablaban sobre si la gente puede por sí misma hacer algo para prolongar la vida del hombre. He aquí lo que dijo cada uno:

A. Uno de ellos dijo: Ya es cierto que gente como los médicos y otras personas están encontrando maneras para aumentar muchos años en la vida de la mayoría de los hombres a través del descubrimiento de nuevas medicinas, de estudiar los alimentos y de hacer otras cosas tales como la vacunación. Si la gente pone empeño en todas estas nuevas cosas casi siempre se prolongará su vida.

B. El segundo dijo: Realmente no creo que los seres humanos puedan hacer mucho ellos mismos para prolongar la vida del hombre. Creo que cada persona tiene un tiempo determinado de vida y cuando le llega el momento pues le llega.

C. El tercero dijo: Creo que la vida tiene un plan que opera para mantener todas las cosas desenvolviéndose juntas, y si un hombre aprende a vivir toda su vida de acuerdo con dicho plan vivirá más tiempo que otros.

## 5. Qué se espera de la vida

A menudo la gente tiene muy distintas ideas sobre lo que ha sucedido antes y sobre lo que podemos esperar de la vida. He aquí tres maneras de pensar sobre estas cosas.

A. Alguna gente cree que la principal preocupación del hombre debe ser el presente en el cual vive. Esta gente dice que el pasado ya pasó y que el futuro está demasiado lejos y es demasiado incierto para preocuparse. Solamente el presente es real.

B. Alguna gente piensa que las maneras del pasado (las maneras de los viejos y costumbres tradicionales) eran las más apropiadas y las mejores, y que a medida que sobrevienen cambios las cosas se ponen peor. Estas personas piensan que la mejor manera de vivir es mantener las maneras antiguas y tratar de revivirlas cuando se pierden.

C. Algunas personas creen que casi siempre las maneras del futuro--las que han de venir--serán las mejores y dicen que aunque algunas veces hay pequeños retrocesos, el cambio trae mejoras a la larga. Estas personas piensan que la mejor manera de vivir es mirar hacia muy adelante, trabajar fuerte y sacrificar muchas cosas ahora para que el futuro sea mejor.

## 6. Cambios tecnológicos

Tres personas hablaban un día sobre los cambios que la ciencia ha traído en la forma de vivir. Nombraron tales cosas como cambios en los métodos de labrar la tierra, en el transporte, en el campo de la medicina, en tipos de comida y vivienda. Todas estuvieron de acuerdo en que sí habían sucedido algunos cambios pero cada persona tenía ideas bastante distintas de cuales serían los efectos de ellos a la larga. He aquí lo que dijo cada una:

A. La primera dijo: Está bien que se hayan logrado estos adelantos, pero a la larga uno tiene que tener suerte para que las cosas le marchen bien en la vida. La ciencia puede ayudar bastante en relación con algunas de las cosas con las cuales debe enfrentarse la gente, pero no podrá nunca ser de gran ayuda respecto a los problemas realmente importantes de la vida. Hay muchas cosas que simplemente suceden y cada uno, si es sabio, aprenderá a aceptar este hecho.

B. Dijo la segunda: No estoy de acuerdo contigo. Mi punto de vista es que el hombre puede y debe aprender a controlar las fuerzas de la naturaleza. Ya hemos avanzado muchísimo y creo que con el tiempo vendrán métodos científicos para controlar o sobreponerse a la mayoría de las cosas.

C. Dijo la tercera: Tal vez ambos tengan algo que decir, pero en mi opinión lo más importante es que la gente aprenda a mantenerse en equilibrio con las fuerzas de la naturaleza. Creo que los seres humanos y las grandes fuerzas de la naturaleza son un todo, o sea partes relacionadas del universo total, y podemos esperar lo mejor cuando nos esforzamos en armonizar y vivir con la naturaleza.

### 7. Carácter de los niños

Tres padres conversaban sobre el tipo de carácter que ellos deseaban para sus niños. He aquí las tres opiniones diferentes que se expresaron:

A. Un padre dijo: Deseo que mis hijos aprendan a ser creativos de varias maneras. Espero que desarrollen el interés y la habilidad para seguir los distintos caminos que llevan a la comprensión y a la sabiduría.

B. El segundo dijo: Deseo que mis hijos crezcan con la capacidad de expresarse libremente, de sentir el goce de la vida en cualquier situación en que se encuentren.

C. El tercero dijo: Deseo que mis hijos tengan el empuje para hacer algo de sí mismos. la ambición para ser de arranque. De esta manera tendrán éxito y realizarán algo en el camino que escojan.

8. El llamado de la religión

Tres personas conversaban sobre qué les atraía de la religión. He aquí lo que dijo cada una:

A. Dijo la primera: La religión me atrae porque la sabiduría de sus enseñanzas amplía mis horizontes y me ayuda a comprender mejor los muchos aspectos de la vida.

B. La segunda dijo: A mí me atrae la religión porque me complace su belleza y dramatismo, y me gusta la sensación que resulta de participar en los servicos religiosos.

C. Dijo la tercera: Creo que la religión me atrae porque enseña a las personas que realizar cosas para ellas mismas y para la sociedad es lo apropiado.

9. Decisión sobre el empleo

Tres jóvenes solteros habían terminado sus estudios y debían decidir en qué tipo de trabajo deseaban entrar.

A. Uno decidió seguir el tipo de ocupación que personas de su familia antes que él habían seguido. El creía que lo mejor es mantener y reforzar las tradiciones del pasado.

B. El segundo buscó aquellas oportunidades de trabajo que ofrecían posibilidades considerables para el éxito futuro. Creía que era mejor mirar hacia las posibilidades de avance en el futuro, aún si tenía que empezar en una posición menos buena que otras disponibles entonces.

C. El tercero decidió tomar el mejor empleo que se le ofreció y el cual le daría el dinero que necesitaba para sostenerse en el presente. El creía que era tonto pensar demasiado o en el pasado que ya pasó, o en el futuro que pensaba demasiado incierto para tomar en cuenta.

10. Herencia

Cuando el padre o la madre muere y deja propiedades, hay varias maneras mediante las cuales se pueden repartir las propiedades entre los hijos y administrarlas. He aquí tres maneras:

A. En algunas partes se piensa que la mejor forma es que las propiedades, o si no la propiedad por lo menos el manejo de todas ellas, debe quedar en manos de una persona específica, generalmente el hijo mayor.

B. En otras partes todos los hijos comparten la propiedad pero se espera que todos se mantengan unidos y las manejen como un grupo familiar. Si alguna vez se necesita a alguien para tomar ciertas decisiones todos los herederos discuten el asunto y acuerdan quién es el más capacitado para hacerlo.

C. En algunas otras partes se piensa que es mejor que cada hijo tome su parte de la propiedad y la maneje por sí mismo, independientemente de los otros hermanos.

## 11. Filosofía de la vida

Tres personas hablaban sobre la necesidad de tener cierta filosofía de la vida--como por ejemplo la religión. Tenían distintas ideas sobre el asunto:

A. Una de ellas dijo: El hombre es parte del gran plan de la naturaleza. El tener una filosofía de la vida me ayuda a entender este plan y a vivir en tal forma que me mantenga a tono con dicho plan.

B. La segunda dijo: Mi manera de pensar es ésta: hay muchas fuerzas naturales y sobrenaturales sobre las cuales nunca ganará control el hombre. Es necesaria una filosofía de la vida para ayudar a que los hombres acepten y se comporten de acuerdo con su destino en la tierra.

C. La tercera dijo: Siento decirlo pero no estoy de acuerdo con ninguno de ustedes dos. Yo creo que el hombre puede hacer mucho o poco, tanto como lo desee, para sobreponerse a estas fuerzas naturales y sobrenaturales. Para mí se requiere una filosofía de la vida que le enseñe al hombre a sobreponerse a estas fuerzas y a forjarse su propio destino.

## 12. Enseñando a la juventud

Tres madres de tipos de familia diferentes hablaban sobre las varias maneras como debería enseñarse a los niños. He aquí lo que dijo cada una:

A. La primera dijo: Yo creo que desde muy jóvenes debe enseñársele a los niños a pararse sobre sus propios pies, a tomar sus propias decisiones y a hacerse responsables de sí mismos. La gente lo pasa mejor cuando aprende y se beneficia de sus propios errores y a ser suficientemente independiente de su familia para marchar por sí misma--algunas veces aún bien lejos.

B. Dijo la segunda: Creo que lo primero que debe enseñarse a los niños pequeños es a obedecer y a respetar a sus mayores--sus padres y abuelos. La mayor sabiduría la tienen los mayores y la gente lo pasa mejor cuando se les ha enseñado a aceptar y respetar dicha sabiduría.

C. Dijo la tercera: Creo que debe enseñarse a los niños pequeños a respetar y a estar ligados a sus familiares cercanos--padre, madre, hermanos, etc. La gente lo pasa mejor cuando tiene un grupo considerable de familiares cercanos en quienes puede apoyarse siempre para ayuda y consejo y a quienes a su vez puede también ayudar.

13. Ceremonias religiosas

Algunas personas en una ciudad como esta vieron cómo los servicios religiosos (ceremonias religiosas) estaban cambiando de lo que eran antes.

A. Algunas se mostraban realmente satisfechas de los cambios en las ceremonias religiosas. Pensaban que las nuevas costumbres son por lo común mejores que las antiguas; y les gusta mantener todo avanzando, aún las ceremonias religiosas.

B. Otras personas pensaban que al cambiar las ceremonias, se perdería gran parte de la vieja tradición y que ya no tendría la iglesia el mismo sentido.

C. Algunas personas pensaban que las tradiciones viejas de las ceremonias religiosas podrían ser mejores pero que simplemente no se puede amarrar a ellas. La vida se vuelve más fácil si se aceptan algunos cambios a medida que aparecen.

14. Estudiantes de bachillerato

Algunos estudiantes de bachillerato discutían sobre cuales de los libros que leían y estudiaban en los varios cursos les gustaban más.

A. Uno de ellos dijo: Los libros que más me gustan son aquellos que me muestran como la gente se ha sobrepuesto a sus problemas. Me gusta visualizar el género humano luchando a través de los siglos con la naturaleza y siempre en alguna forma resultando triunfante.

B. Dijo el segundo: Me gustan más aquellos libros que narran cómo el hombre ha aprendido a entender las fuerzas de la naturaleza y a adaptarse a ellas de tal manera que tanto el hombre como la naturaleza siempre se visualizan como en un todo en el cual el uno completa al otro.

C. Dijo el tercero: Creo que los libros realmente importantes y que más me gustan son aquellos que muestran a los personajes que han aprendido a aceptar el hecho de que el hombre es y siempre será incapaz de cambiar las fuerzas de la naturaleza que están fuera y más allá de su control.

15. Tiempo libre

Tres hombres conversaban un día sobre cómo les gustaba pasar el tiempo cuando no estaban trabajando. Cada uno tenía una idea distinta:

A. Uno de ellos dijo que no tenía ideas definidas de cómo pasar el tiempo cuando no estaba trabajando. A veces hacía una cosa, a veces otra--simplemente dependía de cómo se sentía ese día.

B. El otro dijo que preferiría hacer aquellas cosas que le ayudaban a convertirse en un hombre mejor con más perspectiva. En algunas ocasiones hacía ejercicios físicos para aumentar su fuerza corporal, en otras mentales para poder aprender más. Esta es, él dijo, la mejor manera de pasarlo.

C. El tercero dijo que le gustaba más hacer aquellas cosas cuyos resultados podía ver--juegos de competencia o construir algo. Pensaba que el tiempo extra se pierde a menos que uno pueda hacer algo con él.

## 16. Organización de la iglesia

Algunas personas hablaban sobre la forma como estaban organizadas las iglesias a las cuales pertenecían y sobre qué significaba esta organización en el transcurso de sus vidas cotidianas. He aquí tres opiniones que se expresaron:

A. Dijo la primera: En mi iglesia a todos nos hacen sentir como parte de una gran hermandad que se mantiene unida por muchos vínculos en común. Lo que se nos enseña es que la gente debe actuar junta, al unísono y proveer un tipo fraternal de guía y apoyo.

B. Dijo la segunda: En mi iglesia hay, por supuesto, sacerdotes y otros clérigos pero no ofrecen orientación a menos de que se les pida. Me gusta mi tipo de iglesia porque a cada persona se le hace sentir que la relación entre Dios y el hombre es individual y que uno debe aprender a responsabilizarse de sus propios actos.

C. Dijo la tercera: Mi iglesia es distinta de las suyas. Hay en ella una larga tradición de clero con poderes y entrenamiento especial para guiar a la gente. En gran parte de mi vida no me considero capaz de decidir por mí mismo qué es mejor hacer y estoy contento de depender de su orientación y consejo.

## 17. Necesidad de la educación

Hoy en casi todos los sitios del mundo se habla de la necesidad de la educación. Sinembargo la gente tiene ideas diferentes sobre la clase y cantidad deseable de educación. He aquí tres ideas expresadas por tres señores distintos:

A. Dijo uno de ellos: Un buen sistema educacional es necesario para que la gente aprenda bien la técnica y el conocimiento que les ayude a ser eficientes y a tener éxito en cualquier actividad que desarrollen.

B. Dijo el segundo: Pienso que ir al colegio por muchos años y estar bien preparado es magnífico para algunas personas, pero ciertamente no lo es para todo el mundo. Yo, por ejemplo, creo que es mucho más importante hacer lo que me provoca y gozar realmente de la vida a medida que esta pasa.

C. Dijo el tercero: No estoy de acuerdo con ninguno de ustedes. Creo que una larga y excelente educación es importante, pero debe usarse para hacer que cada hombre sea más sabio y profundo. Así, una persona podrá desarrollar más completamente el conocimiento de sí mismo y de la humanidad.

## 18. Fuerzas naturales

La gente se preocupa a menudo de desastres tales como las inundaciones, los terremotos, los huracanes y similares. Un día varias personas discutían sobre el poder de Dios tanto en relacíon con el hombre como con las fuerzas naturales en donde se originan estos magnos acontecimientos. He aquí lo que dijo cada uno:

A. Un señor dijo: Mi punto de vista es que debe existir una unidad armoniosa total entre Dios, las fuerzas de la naturaleza y las criaturas. Es cuando los hombres no viven el género de vida necesario para mantener esta armonía que suceden estos desastres.

B. Dijo el segundo: No creo que Dios ejercite directamente su poder para controlar las fuerzas que se desatan en los terremotos, las inundaciones y similares. Le corresponde al hombre por sí mismo tratar de averiguar por qué suceden tales cosas y desarrollar la manera para controlarlas y sobreponerse a ellas.

C. Dijo el tercero: No creo que el hombre pueda llegar a saber la manera como Dios usa sus poderes para controlar las fuerzas de la naturaleza, y es inútil que la gente crea que podrá llegar a conquistar realmente cosas tales como los terremotos, las inundaciones y los huracanes. Lo mejor es aceptar las cosas tal como se presentan y hacer lo más que se pueda.

## 19. Desastre en la familia

Un hombre y su familia fueron golpeados duramente por la desgracia. Se presentaron muchas enfermedades durante largo tiempo. Además el padre perdió el trabajo y tuvo serios problemas financieros. Algunas personas discutían los problemas de este hombre y su razón de ser.

A. Una persona dijo: Realmente no se puede culpar a un hombre cuando le suceden tales infortunios. Cosas como estas simplemente suceden y no es mucho lo que puede la misma gente hacer al respecto. Uno debe aprender a aceptar las cosas malas lo mismo que las buenas.

B. Otra dijo: Esta clase de infortunios suceden cuando la gente no sigue las formas justas y correctas de vivir. Cuando la gente vive de tal manera que su forma de vida esté en armonía con las grades fuerzas naturales de la vida, las cosas casi siempre andan bien.

C. Dijo la tercera: Probablemente fué culpa del hombre mismo. He debido dar los pasos necesarios para prevenir que las cosas llegaran a ser tan malas. Si la gente usa su cabeza, usualmente puede encontrar maneras para sobreponerse en gran parte a su mala fortuna.

## 20. Esperanza

### (a: Students)

Tres jóvenes estaban hablando de lo que creían que sus familias--es decir, ellos mismos y sus hijos--tendrían algún día, comparado con lo que sus padres tuvieron. Cada uno pensaba de distinto modo:

A. Uno dijo: Yo creo que mi familia tendrá más en el futuro que la familia de mis padres o mis parientes, si trabajamos duro y hacemos nuestros planes con cuidado. La vida en este país casi siempre mejora para la gente que de veras trabaja duro.

B. Otro dijo: Yo no sé de seguro si mi familia vivirá mejor, lo mismo, o peor, que la familia de mis padres o mis parientes, La vida sube y baja aún cuando la gente trabaja duro. Así es la vida!

C. Todavía otro dijo: Yo creo que mi familia vivirá mas o menos como vivieron las familias de mis padres y de mis parientes. Lo mejor es trabajar duro para guardar todo lo del pasado.

### (b: Leaders)

Tres personas mayores hablaban de lo que esperaban que sus hijos tuvieran cuando fueran grandes. Aquí está lo que dijo cada uno:

A. Una persona dijo: Realmente yo espero que mis hijos tengan más de lo que yo he tenido, eso es, si trabajan duro y hacen sus planes con cuidado. Siempre hay buenas oportunidades para los que trabajan duro.

B. Otra dijo: Yo no sé si mis hijos vivirán mejor o peor, o lo mismo, que yo he vivido. La vida sube y baja, aún cuando la gente trabaja duro. Así es la vida!

C. La tercera dijo: Yo espero que mis hijos vivan más o menos como yo he vivido, y que hagan volver la vida como era antes. Es la responsabilidad de los hijos mantener la manera de vivir del pasado.

## 21. Maneras de vivir

Habí tres personas que hablaban sobre la manera como les gusta vivir. Tenían ideas diversas:

A. Una de ellas dijo: Lo que más me importa es sentirme libre para hacer lo que me plazca y lo que más se acomode a mi estado de ánimo. No siempre realizo muchas cosas pero le saco jugo a la vida a medida que ella se presenta--ésta es la mejor manera de vivir.

B. Una segunda dijo: Lo que más me interesa es poder realizar algo--hacer las cosas tan bien o mejor que otra gente. Me gusta ver resultados y pensar que vale la pena trabajar para lograrlos.

C. La tercera dijo: Lo que más me interesa es pensar y actuar en forma tal que desarrolle muchas facetas variadas de mi naturaleza. Puedo fallar hacer algo tan bien como los otros en aquellas cosas que mucha gente piensa como importantes, pero si cada día me convierto en una persona más sabia y comprensiva esto es lo que más me sienta.

## 22. Deportes de equipo

Todos sabemos que hay diversas clases de deportes y de como organizarlos. Conversaban tres personas, a todas ellas les gustaban los deportes que se juegan en equipo (ej. fútbol, basketbol, beísbol) pero tenían ideas diversas sobre el tipo que pensaban era mejor.

A. La primera dijo: Me gustan aquellos deportes en equipo que están organizados en forma tal que se deja al invividuo probarse a sí mismo como individuo y obtener crédito por ello.

B. Dijo la segunda: Me gusta el tipo de deportes en equipo donde hay una dirección y organización definidas y en donde cada persona sabe exactamente su puesto.

C. Dijo la tercera: Me gusta el tipo de deportes en equipo donde hay suficiente organización para mantener el rodaje de las cosas, pero donde lo principal es que puedo coordinarme en función de equipo con los compañeros tales como yo.

# APPENDIX III

## ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF RESPONSE SHEETS FOR RESPONDENT'S BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

### A. Leaders

Number_______________
City_________________
Sector_______________

A Study of Leaders' Opinions

1. Name______________________________ 2. Sex____________________

3. Occupation________________________ 4. Position_______________

5. Name of enterprise____________________________________________

6. Barrio of residence___________________________________________

7. Where born______________________________ (place and department)

8. When you were born, were your parents living:

   in the country________? or in the city________?

9. How long have you lived in (the study city)? ________years.

10. Have you ever lived in any other place? Yes_______ No________

11. In what other places have you lived and at what ages?

| Place and department | In the Country | In the City | From What Age To What Age |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |

12. What is (was) the profession or occupation of your father? (Include his position.)

____________________________________________________________

13. How many years of schooling did your father complete? __________

14. How many years of schooling did you complete? ________________

15. Have you studied in a university? Yes _____ No _____

If the answer is yes:

16. In which university?___________________________________________

____________________________________________________________

17. Were you graduated? Yes_____ No_____

18. What was your major?___________________________________________

____________________________________________________________

19. Have you studied in a university outside of Colombia? Yes___ No___

If the answer is yes, in what country and for how long?

____________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________

20. What is your marital status? Single___ Married___ Separated___

Divorced___ Widow(er)___

21. In which age group are you?

20-29___ 30-39___ 40-49___ 50-59___ 60 or more___

22. Other data:

23. Comments:

## B. Students

Number ____________

Strictly Confidential

### A Study of Students' Opinions

1. Your name ____________ 2. Your age ____________

3. Your school ____________ 4. City ____________

5. In which barrio do you live? ____________ City ____________

6. How long have you lived in this city? ____________ years

7. Where were you born (place and department)? ____________

8. When you were born, were your parents living:

In the country? ______ (Please check one)
In the city? ______

9. Did you live in other places before coming to this city? Yes__ No__

If the answer is yes:

10. In what other places have you lived and at what ages?

| Place and department | In the Country | In the City | From What Age To What Age |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |

11. What is (was) the profession or occupation of your father (his position)?

____________________________________________

12. Establishment where he works ____________

13. Job he does ____________

14. How many years of schooling did your father complete? ____ years

(Please check one)

_____Primary

_____High School

_____University

_____Others

15. Is your father living? Yes___ No___

16. Is your mother living? Yes___ No___

17. Where was your father born (place and department)?_______________

18. Where was your mother born (place and department)?_______________

# APPENDIX IV

## TABLES RELATING TO HYPOTHESES

The frequency distributions and statistical measures included in the tables of this appendix were used in testing the hypotheses and are based on the method of analysis which was discussed in Chapter 5. The tables correspond with the individual hypotheses in the text.

An asterisk immediately following a t-score indicates that it was significant at the .05 level. In cases where more than two groups are compared, the t-tests are indicated with each group _numbered_ according to the _order_ of its appearance in the table. A negative t-score simply indicates that the second of the means being compared was greater than the first.

Table 3

Value Orientations of Industrial and Church Leaders, Popayán, Colombia, 1967

| Sector | Orientations | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Time | Activity | Man-Nature | Relational |
| Industrial (n=10) | | | | |
| 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 4 |
| 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| 3 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 1 |
| 4 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 |
| 5 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| 6 | - | 0 | 0 | - |
| $\bar{X}$ | 2.3000 | 2.7000 | 3.2000 | 1.7000 |
| $\sigma$ | 1.1595 | 1.1595 | 1.6193 | 1.1595 |
| Church (n=4) | | | | |
| 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 2 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| 3 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 4 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 5 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 6 | - | 0 | 0 | - |
| $\bar{X}$ | 4.2500 | 2.0000 | 2.0000 | 1.5000 |
| $\sigma$ | 0.5000 | 0.8165 | 0.8165 | 1.0000 |
| t | 3.1250* | 0.8640 | 1.3989 | 0.3313 |

Table 4

Value Orientations of Younger and Older Leaders, Popayán, Colombia, 1967

| Age Group | Orientations | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Time | Activity | Man-Nature | Relational |
| Younger (n=42) | | | | |
| 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| 1 | 1 | 9 | 4 | 14 |
| 2 | 5 | 6 | 12 | 11 |
| 3 | 11 | 14 | 9 | 11 |
| 4 | 12 | 7 | 8 | 3 |
| 5 | 11 | 6 | 7 | 0 |
| 6 | - | 0 | 2 | - |
| $\bar{X}$ | 3.5000 | 2.8810 | 3.1905 | 1.9286 |
| $\sigma$ | 1.3298 | 1.3289 | 1.4010 | 1.0908 |
| Older (n=17) | | | | |
| 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| 2 | 0 | 3 | 5 | 8 |
| 3 | 11 | 3 | 3 | 5 |
| 4 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 1 |
| 5 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| 6 | - | 0 | 0 | - |
| $\bar{X}$ | 3.2353 | 2.5882 | 2.8235 | 2.2353 |
| $\sigma$ | 0.8314 | 1.6225 | 1.5098 | 0.8314 |
| t | 0.7606 | 0.7184 | 0.7942 | 1.0413 |

Table 5

Value Orientations of Leaders with University Training vs. Those with None, Popayán, Colombia, 1967

| University Training | Orientations | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Time | Activity | Man-Nature | Relational |
| Yes (n=45) | | | | |
| 0 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 1 |
| 1 | 1 | 10 | 6 | 14 |
| 2 | 2 | 6 | 13 | 14 |
| 3 | 17 | 14 | 9 | 13 |
| 4 | 14 | 6 | 7 | 3 |
| 5 | 9 | 7 | 8 | 0 |
| 6 | - | 0 | 2 | - |
| $\overline{X}$ | 3.4889 | 2.7333 | 3.0889 | 2.0667 |
| $\sigma$ | 1.1989 | 1.4678 | 1.4589 | 0.9863 |
| No (n=14) | | | | |
| 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 3 |
| 2 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| 4 | 2 | 5 | 4 | 1 |
| 5 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| 6 | - | 0 | 0 | - |
| $\overline{X}$ | 3.2143 | 3.0000 | 3.0714 | 1.8571 |
| $\sigma$ | 1.2514 | 1.2403 | 1.3848 | 1.1673 |
| t | 0.7409 | 0.6140 | 0.0396 | 0.6645 |

Table 6

Value Orientations of Leaders by University Training in Colombia, the United States, and Western Europe, Popayán, Colombia, 1967

| Place of Study | Orientations | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Time | Activity | Man-Nature | Relational |
| Colombia (n=33) | | | | |
| 0 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| 1 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 10 |
| 2 | 0 | 3 | 10 | 9 |
| 3 | 15 | 11 | 8 | 12 |
| 4 | 9 | 4 | 5 | 2 |
| 5 | 6 | 5 | 7 | 0 |
| 6 | - | 0 | 1 | - |
| $\bar{X}$ | 3.3939 | 2.6667 | 3.2424 | 2.1818 |
| $\sigma$ | 1.2485 | 1.5138 | 1.3470 | 0.9505 |
| United States (n=8) | | | | |
| 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 3 |
| 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| 4 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| 5 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 6 | - | 0 | 1 | - |
| $\bar{X}$ | 3.8750 | 3.0000 | 2.8750 | 2.0000 |
| $\sigma$ | 1.1260 | 1.3093 | 1.9594 | 1.0690 |
| Western Europe (n=4) | | | | |
| 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| 3 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 4 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 5 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 6 | - | 0 | 0 | - |
| $\bar{X}$ | 3.5000 | 2.7500 | 2.2500 | 1.2500 |
| $\sigma$ | 1.0000 | 1.7078 | 1.2583 | 0.9574 |
| t 1 vs. 2 | -1.0067 | -0.5651 | 0.6380 | 0.4748 |
| 1 vs. 3 | -0.1652 | -0.1052 | 1.2828 | 1.8112* |
| 2 vs. 3 | 0.5050 | 0.2728 | 0.6984 | 1.2604 |

Table 7

Value Orientations of University Trained Leaders by Whether They Studied at the Universidad del Cauca, Popayán, Colombia, 1967

| Whether Studied There | Orientations | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Time | Activity | Man-Nature | Relational |
| Yes (n=28) | | | | |
| 0 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| 1 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 8 |
| 2 | 5 | 3 | 6 | 6 |
| 3 | 14 | 12 | 5 | 11 |
| 4 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 3 |
| 5 | 1 | 3 | 6 | 0 |
| 6 | - | 0 | 0 | - |
| $\bar{X}$ | 2.5714 | 2.8214 | 2.8571 | 2.3214 |
| $\sigma$ | 1.3927 | 1.0734 | 1.2945 | 1.0304 |
| No (n=9) | | | | |
| 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 6 |
| 3 | 4 | 1 | 4 | 2 |
| 4 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 0 |
| 5 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 6 | - | 0 | 0 | - |
| $\bar{X}$ | 2.8888 | 2.8888 | 2.4444 | 2.1111 |
| $\sigma$ | 1.1246 | 1.3458 | 1.4392 | 1.0247 |
| t | 0.3974 | 0.0825 | 0.4849 | 0.2872 |

Table 8

Value Orientations of Students by High and Low
SES of Schools, Popayán, Colombia, 1967

| SES of School | Orientations | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Time | Activity | Man-Nature | Relational |
| High (n=119) | | | | |
| 0 | 1 | 9 | 5 | 7 |
| 1 | 1 | 23 | 10 | 21 |
| 2 | 8 | 27 | 30 | 34 |
| 3 | 32 | 40 | 28 | 37 |
| 4 | 45 | 12 | 22 | 16 |
| 5 | 32 | 8 | 19 | 4 |
| 6 | - | 0 | 5 | - |
| $\bar{X}$ | 3.8067 | 2.3950 | 3.0840 | 2.3866 |
| $\sigma$ | 0.9939 | 1.3033 | 1.4763 | 1.1940 |
| Low (n=35) | | | | |
| 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 3 |
| 1 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 6 |
| 2 | 6 | 5 | 7 | 12 |
| 3 | 9 | 15 | 8 | 6 |
| 4 | 13 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 7 | 1 |
| 6 | - | 1 | 4 | - |
| $\bar{X}$ | 3.2571 | 2.8857 | 3.5429 | 2.3143 |
| $\sigma$ | 1.1464 | 1.3234 | 1.5213 | 1.3009 |
| t | 2.7750* | 1.9515* | 1.9503* | 0.3084 |

Table 9

Value Orientations of Students by Private and Public Schools, Popayán, Colombia, 1967

| Type of School | Orientations | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Time | Activity | Man-Nature | Relational |
| Private (n=40) | | | | |
| 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 3 |
| 1 | 3 | 9 | 3 | 4 |
| 2 | 3 | 6 | 11 | 15 |
| 3 | 9 | 14 | 6 | 10 |
| 4 | 17 | 7 | 8 | 7 |
| 5 | 8 | 2 | 9 | 1 |
| 6 | - | 0 | 3 | - |
| $\overline{X}$ | 3.6000 | 2.5250 | 3.4500 | 2.4250 |
| $\sigma$ | 1.1277 | 1.3006 | 1.4841 | 1.1959 |
| Public (n=114) | | | | |
| 0 | 1 | 8 | 5 | 7 |
| 1 | 1 | 19 | 10 | 23 |
| 2 | 11 | 26 | 26 | 31 |
| 3 | 32 | 41 | 30 | 33 |
| 4 | 41 | 10 | 20 | 16 |
| 5 | 28 | 9 | 17 | 4 |
| 6 | - | 1 | 6 | - |
| $\overline{X}$ | 3.7105 | 2.5000 | 3.0965 | 2.3509 |
| $\sigma$ | 1.0281 | 1.3320 | 1.4932 | 1.2264 |
| t | 0.5703 | 0.1027 | 1.2903 | 0.3310 |

Table 10

Value Orientations of Students, High-Private and Low-Public Schools, Popayán, Colombia, 1967

| Type of School | Orientations | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Time | Activity | Man-Nature | Relational |
| High-Private (n=19) | | | | |
| 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| 1 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 3 |
| 2 | 0 | 2 | 7 | 6 |
| 3 | 6 | 7 | 3 | 6 |
| 4 | 6 | 2 | 4 | 2 |
| 5 | 6 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| 6 | - | 0 | 1 | - |
| $\bar{X}$ | 3.8421 | 2.0526 | 3.2105 | 2.1579 |
| $\sigma$ | 1.0679 | 1.2681 | 1.3976 | 1.1673 |
| Low-Public (n=14) | | | | |
| 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 5 |
| 2 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 3 |
| 3 | 6 | 8 | 5 | 2 |
| 4 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| 5 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 6 | - | 1 | 2 | - |
| $\bar{X}$ | 3.0714 | 2.7857 | 3.3571 | 1.7857 |
| $\sigma$ | 1.1411 | 1.5281 | 1.4991 | 1.3114 |
| t | 2.1159* | 1.5898 | 0.2787 | 0.8764 |

Table 11

Value Orientations of Students by SES of Barrio, Popayán, Colombia, 1967

| SES of Barrio | Orientations | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Time | Activity | Man-Nature | Relational |
| Upper (n=19) | | | | |
| 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| 1 | 0 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| 2 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 6 |
| 3 | 4 | 7 | 4 | 6 |
| 4 | 10 | 1 | 3 | 3 |
| 5 | 3 | 1 | 6 | 2 |
| 6 | - | 0 | 0 | - |
| $\overline{X}$ | 3.7368 | 2.2632 | 3.2632 | 2.8421 |
| $\sigma$ | 0.8719 | 1.2842 | 1.5931 | 1.1673 |
| Upper-Middle (n=26) | | | | |
| 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 1 | 2 | 5 | 5 | 2 |
| 2 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 8 |
| 3 | 6 | 11 | 5 | 6 |
| 4 | 11 | 5 | 6 | 9 |
| 5 | 6 | 1 | 5 | 0 |
| 6 | - | 0 | 1 | - |
| $\overline{X}$ | 3.6923 | 2.6538 | 3.1923 | 2.7692 |
| $\sigma$ | 1.1232 | 1.2310 | 1.5237 | 1.1422 |
| Middle (n=50) | | | | |
| 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| 1 | 1 | 11 | 1 | 9 |
| 2 | 3 | 11 | 11 | 16 |
| 3 | 14 | 18 | 12 | 18 |
| 4 | 17 | 4 | 12 | 3 |
| 5 | 15 | 4 | 10 | 0 |
| 6 | - | 0 | 2 | - |
| $\overline{X}$ | 3.8400 | 2.4600 | 3.3800 | 2.1400 |
| $\sigma$ | 0.9971 | 1.2651 | 1.3981 | 1.0500 |

Table 11--continued

| SES of Barrio | Orientations | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Time | Activity | Man-Nature | Relational |
| Lower (n=36) | | | | |
| 0 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 3 |
| 1 | 1 | 7 | 3 | 9 |
| 2 | 6 | 6 | 11 | 9 |
| 3 | 4 | 12 | 11 | 10 |
| 4 | 15 | 5 | 3 | 3 |
| 5 | 9 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| 6 | - | 1 | 5 | - |
| $\bar{X}$ | 3.6111 | 2.5278 | 3.0556 | 2.1944 |
| $\sigma$ | 1.2712 | 1.4636 | 1.5846 | 1.3054 |
| "Superlow" (n=6) | | | | |
| 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2 | 0 | 2 | 4 | 3 |
| 3 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 4 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| 5 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| 6 | - | 0 | 0 | - |
| $\bar{X}$ | 3.6667 | 3.5000 | 2.8333 | 2.8333 |
| $\sigma$ | 0.8165 | 1.3784 | 1.3292 | 0.9832 |
| t 1 vs. 2 | 0.1367 | -0.9797 | 0.1567 | 0.2093 |
| 1 vs. 3 | -0.3546 | -0.5528 | -0.2894 | 2.2585* |
| 1 vs. 4 | 0.4107 | -0.7062 | 0.4887 | 1.9801* |
| 1 vs. 5 | 0.1388 | -1.9989* | 0.6127 | 0.0162 |
| 2 vs. 3 | -0.5658 | 0.6068 | -0.5182 | 2.2561* |
| 2 vs. 4 | 0.2922 | 0.3707 | 0.3547 | 1.9361* |
| 2 vs. 5 | 0.0524 | -1.4139 | 0.5291 | -0.1227 |
| 3 vs. 4 | 0.9700 | -0.2347 | 0.9908 | -0.2159 |
| 3 vs. 5 | 0.3716 | -1.8217 | 0.8446 | -1.3912 |
| 4 vs. 5 | -0.1167 | -1.6686 | 0.3364 | -1.2561 |

Table 12

Value Orientations of Students by Occupational Status of Their Fathers, Popayán, Colombia, 1967

| Occupational Status | Orientations | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Time | Activity | Man-Nature | Relational |
| I (n=29) | | | | |
| 0 | 0 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 1 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 2 |
| 2 | 3 | 7 | 5 | 12 |
| 3 | 7 | 11 | 12 | 7 |
| 4 | 12 | 1 | 2 | 6 |
| 5 | 6 | 3 | 7 | 1 |
| 6 | - | 0 | 0 | - |
| $\overline{X}$ | 3.6552 | 2.4138 | 3.1034 | 2.6207 |
| $\sigma$ | 1.0446 | 1.3763 | 1.4229 | 1.1153 |
| II (n=32) | | | | |
| 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| 1 | 0 | 8 | 2 | 6 |
| 2 | 3 | 3 | 8 | 11 |
| 3 | 9 | 14 | 5 | 9 |
| 4 | 11 | 4 | 8 | 3 |
| 5 | 9 | 2 | 7 | 1 |
| 6 | - | 0 | 2 | - |
| $\overline{X}$ | 3.8125 | 2.5625 | 3.5000 | 2.2500 |
| $\sigma$ | 0.9651 | 1.2684 | 1.4142 | 1.1640 |
| III (n=34) | | | | |
| 0 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| 1 | 1 | 7 | 4 | 5 |
| 2 | 3 | 8 | 10 | 10 |
| 3 | 8 | 12 | 8 | 9 |
| 4 | 14 | 3 | 5 | 5 |
| 5 | 7 | 1 | 4 | 2 |
| 6 | - | 0 | 1 | - |
| $\overline{X}$ | 3.5882 | 2.2353 | 2.7647 | 2.4118 |
| $\sigma$ | 1.1837 | 1.2324 | 1.4783 | 1.3284 |
| t 1 vs. 2 | -0.5660 | -0.4418 | -1.0857 | 1.1907 |
| 1 vs. 3 | 0.2443 | 0.5378 | 0.9407 | 0.6807 |
| 2 vs. 3 | 0.8399 | 1.0118 | 2.0956* | -0.5409 |

Table 13

Value Orientations of Students by Educational Levels of Their Fathers, Popayán, Colombia, 1967

| Educational Levels | Orientations | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Time | Activity | Man-Nature | Relational |
| Primary or Less (n=61) | | | | |
| 0 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 6 |
| 1 | 1 | 9 | 6 | 12 |
| 2 | 6 | 11 | 20 | 18 |
| 3 | 20 | 21 | 11 | 15 |
| 4 | 20 | 10 | 11 | 10 |
| 5 | 14 | 5 | 6 | 0 |
| 6 | - | 1 | 6 | - |
| $\overline{X}$ | 3.6657 | 2.7049 | 3.0984 | 2.1803 |
| σ | 0.9981 | 1.3946 | 1.5352 | 1.2180 |
| Secondary (n=61) | | | | |
| 0 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| 1 | 2 | 14 | 5 | 12 |
| 2 | 3 | 14 | 13 | 16 |
| 3 | 15 | 22 | 16 | 20 |
| 4 | 26 | 4 | 9 | 6 |
| 5 | 14 | 4 | 13 | 4 |
| 6 | - | 0 | 3 | - |
| $\overline{X}$ | 3.7213 | 2.3607 | 3.2459 | 2.4262 |
| σ | 1.0821 | 1.2387 | 1.5017 | 1.2444 |
| College (n=25) | | | | |
| 0 | 0 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 1 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 1 |
| 2 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 9 |
| 3 | 6 | 10 | 8 | 6 |
| 4 | 8 | 2 | 4 | 7 |
| 5 | 6 | 2 | 6 | 1 |
| 6 | - | 0 | 0 | - |
| $\overline{X}$ | 3.6000 | 2.4400 | 3.1600 | 2.8000 |
| σ | 1.0801 | 1.3868 | 1.4911 | 1.1547 |
| t 1 vs. 2 | -0.3457 | 1.4290 | -0.5382 | -1.1142 |
| 1 vs. 3 | 0.2240 | 0.8385 | -0.1714 | -2.1409* |
| 2 vs. 3 | 0.4876 | -0.2511 | 0.2389 | -1.2913 |

## Table 14

## Dominant Value Profiles of Students, Mothers, and Fathers, by Instrument Item Number, Popayán, Colombia, 1967

| Orientation and Item | Respondent Group | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Student | Mother | Father | Score** |
| Time | | | | |
| 1 | F>Pr>Pa*** | Pa>Pr>F | F>Pr=Pa | + |
| 2 | F>Pr>Pa | F>Pa>Pr | F>Pa>Pr | 0 |
| 3 | F>Pr>Pa | F>Pr>Pa | F>Pr>Pa | 0 |
| 4 | Pr>Pa>F | F>Pr>Pa | Pr>F>Pa | + |
| 5 | F>Pr>Pa | F>Pr>Pa | F>Pr>Pa | 0 |
| Activity | | | | |
| 6 | D>Bib>B | D>Bib>B | D>Bib>B | 0 |
| 7 | Bib>D>B | Bib>D>B | D>Bib>B | - |
| 8 | Bib>D>B | Bib>D>B | Bib>D>B | 0 |
| 9 | Bib>D>B | Bib>D>B | Bib>B>D | 0 |
| 10 | B>Bib>D | Bib>B>D | Bib>B>D | 0 |
| 11 | D>Bib>B | D>Bib>B | D>Bib>B | 0 |
| Man-Nature | | | | |
| 12 | W>S>O | O>S>W | O>W>S | + |
| 13 | O>W>S | S>W>O | O>W>S | + |
| 14 | O>W>S | W>S>O | O>S>W | + |
| 15 | O>W>S | O>W>S | O>W>S | 0 |
| 16 | S>W>O | O>W>S | S>W>O | + |
| 17 | O>W>S | S>W>O | S>O>W | + |
| Relational | | | | |
| 18 | L>C>I | I>L>C | L>I>C | + |
| 19 | I>C>L | C>L=I | C>I>L | 0 |
| 20 | C>I>L | C>I>L | C>I>L | 0 |
| 21 | L>I>C | I>L>C | L>I>C | + |
| 22 | C>L>I | I>C>L | I>C>L | 0 |

p=.0019

**A plus indicates that students were nearer to the profile they reported for their fathers; a minus means that they were nearer that of their mothers. A zero is used when the profile of the students was an equal distance from, or exactly equal to, the profiles of both parents.

***The abbreviations for the value profiles are found on page 133 of this dissertation.

Table 15

Value Orientations of Leaders and Students,
Popayán, Colombia, 1967

| Group | Time | Activity | Man-Nature | Relational |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Leaders** (n=59) | | | | |
| 0 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| 1 | 2 | 12 | 6 | 17 |
| 2 | 5 | 9 | 17 | 19 |
| 3 | 22 | 17 | 12 | 16 |
| 4 | 16 | 11 | 11 | 4 |
| 5 | 12 | 8 | 10 | 0 |
| 6 | - | 0 | 2 | - |
| $\overline{X}$ | 3.4237 | 2.7966 | 3.0847 | 2.0169 |
| $\sigma$ | 1.9483 | 2.2796 | 2.3094 | 1.6554 |
| **Students** (n=154) | | | | |
| 0 | 1 | 10 | 5 | 10 |
| 1 | 4 | 28 | 13 | 27 |
| 2 | 14 | 32 | 37 | 46 |
| 3 | 41 | 55 | 36 | 43 |
| 4 | 58 | 17 | 28 | 23 |
| 5 | 36 | 11 | 26 | 5 |
| 6 | - | 1 | 9 | - |
| $\overline{X}$ | 3.6818 | 2.5065 | 3.1883 | 2.3701 |
| $\sigma$ | 1.7373 | 1.8006 | 1.9644 | 1.6319 |
| t | 0.9475 | 1.0118 | 0.3549 | 1.3727 |

## Table 16

### Value Orientations of Students and Their Mothers, Popayán, Colombia, 1967

| Group | Orientations | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Time | Activity | Man-Nature | Relational |
| **Students** (n=154) | | | | |
| 0 | 1 | 10 | 5 | 10 |
| 1 | 4 | 28 | 13 | 27 |
| 2 | 14 | 32 | 37 | 46 |
| 3 | 41 | 55 | 36 | 43 |
| 4 | 58 | 17 | 28 | 23 |
| 5 | 36 | 11 | 26 | 5 |
| 6 | - | 1 | 9 | - |
| $\overline{X}$ | 3.6818 | 2.5065 | 3.1883 | 2.3701 |
| σ | 1.7373 | 1.8006 | 1.9644 | 1.6319 |
| **Mothers** (n=154) | | | | |
| 0 | 19 | 10 | 37 | 32 |
| 1 | 38 | 27 | 47 | 61 |
| 2 | 43 | 48 | 33 | 40 |
| 3 | 31 | 43 | 18 | 19 |
| 4 | 17 | 20 | 15 | 2 |
| 5 | 6 | 4 | 4 | 0 |
| 6 | - | 2 | 0 | - |
| $\overline{X}$ | 2.0454 | 2.3636 | 1.6038 | 1.3376 |
| σ | 1.7274 | 1.5003 | 1.6654 | 1.3775 |
| t | 8.2931* | 0.7576 | 7.6435* | 6.0133* |

Table 17

Value Orientations of Students and Their Fathers, Popayán, Colombia, 1967

| Group | Orientations | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Time | Activity | Man-Nature | Relational |
| Students (n=154) | | | | |
| 0 | 1 | 10 | 5 | 10 |
| 1 | 4 | 28 | 13 | 27 |
| 2 | 14 | 32 | 37 | 46 |
| 3 | 41 | 55 | 36 | 43 |
| 4 | 58 | 17 | 28 | 23 |
| 5 | 36 | 11 | 26 | 5 |
| 6 | - | 1 | 9 | - |
| $\bar{X}$ | 3.6818 | 2.5065 | 3.1883 | 2.3701 |
| σ | 1.7373 | 1.8006 | 1.9644 | 1.6319 |
| Fathers (n=154) | | | | |
| 0 | 11 | 14 | 23 | 15 |
| 1 | 26 | 26 | 21 | 38 |
| 2 | 35 | 38 | 42 | 48 |
| 3 | 40 | 46 | 30 | 37 |
| 4 | 28 | 21 | 23 | 13 |
| 5 | 14 | 8 | 13 | 3 |
| 6 | - | 1 | 2 | - |
| $\bar{X}$ | 2.5844 | 2.4026 | 2.3636 | 2.0259 |
| σ | 1.7313 | 1.7498 | 1.8180 | 1.4929 |
| t | 5.4952* | 0.5146 | 3.8240* | 1.9369* |

### Table 18

### Value Orientations of Leaders in Popayán and Medellín, 1967

| City | Orientations | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Time | Activity | Man-Nature | Relational |
| **Popayán** (n=59) | | | | |
| 0 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| 1 | 2 | 12 | 6 | 17 |
| 2 | 5 | 9 | 17 | 19 |
| 3 | 22 | 17 | 12 | 16 |
| 4 | 16 | 11 | 11 | 4 |
| 5 | 12 | 8 | 10 | 0 |
| 6 | - | 0 | 2 | - |
| $\overline{X}$ | 3.4237 | 2.7966 | 3.0847 | 2.0169 |
| $\sigma$ | 1.2064 | 1.4115 | 1.4298 | 1.0254 |
| **Medellín** (n=60) | | | | |
| 0 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 4 |
| 1 | 0 | 10 | 6 | 17 |
| 2 | 9 | 12 | 13 | 19 |
| 3 | 17 | 17 | 17 | 13 |
| 4 | 22 | 12 | 8 | 7 |
| 5 | 11 | 3 | 9 | 0 |
| 6 | - | 0 | 6 | - |
| $\overline{X}$ | 3.5333 | 2.4667 | 3.2667 | 2.0333 |
| $\sigma$ | 1.0651 | 1.3835 | 1.5389 | 1.1194 |
| $t$ | 0.5256 | 1.2877 | 0.6678 | 0.0832 |

Table 19

Value Orientations of Students in Popayán and Medellín, 1967

| City | Orientations | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Time | Activity | Man-Nature | Relational |
| Popayán (n=154) | | | | |
| 0 | 1 | 10 | 5 | 10 |
| 1 | 4 | 28 | 13 | 27 |
| 2 | 14 | 32 | 37 | 46 |
| 3 | 41 | 55 | 36 | 43 |
| 4 | 58 | 17 | 28 | 23 |
| 5 | 36 | 11 | 26 | 5 |
| 6 | - | 1 | 9 | - |
| $\overline{X}$ | 3.6818 | 2.5065 | 3.1883 | 2.3701 |
| σ | 1.7373 | 1.8006 | 1.9644 | 1.6319 |
| Medellín (n=395) | | | | |
| 0 | 1 | 27 | 19 | 36 |
| 1 | 23 | 75 | 57 | 102 |
| 2 | 54 | 118 | 102 | 128 |
| 3 | 111 | 112 | 115 | 94 |
| 4 | 149 | 47 | 63 | 30 |
| 5 | 57 | 14 | 29 | 5 |
| 6 | - | 2 | 10 | - |
| $\overline{X}$ | 3.4050 | 2.3215 | 2.6911 | 1.9873 |
| σ | 1.6059 | 1.4111 | 1.5562 | 1.3197 |
| t | 1.2541 | 0.8564 | 2.1023* | 1.9343 |

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J. Selwyn Hollingsworth was born December 20, 1939, at Blooming Grove, Texas. In May, 1958, he was graduated from Barry High School. In August, 1962, he received the degree of Bachelor of Science with a major in Sociology from Texas A&M College. From September, 1962, to April, 1963, he served as exchange delegate to Costa Rica with the International Farm Youth Exchange. In 1963, he enrolled in the Graduate School of Texas A&M University. He worked as a graduate research assistant in the Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology until August, 1964, when he received the degree of Master of Science with a major in Sociology. In September, 1964, he enrolled in the Graduate School of the University of Florida and served as graduate research assistant for one year. Following that, he studied under a fellowship from the National Defense Education Act until August, 1966. At that time, he went to Cali, Colombia, with a research grant from the University of Florida and the Rockefeller Foundation. While in Colombia, he held the position of Assistant Visiting Professor at the Universidad del Valle for two years. From September, 1968, until August, 1969, he worked as a research associate with the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Florida. From September, 1969, to the present, he has been a faculty member of the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa.

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I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Irving L. Webber

Irving L. Webber, Chairman
Professor of Sociology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Joseph S. Vandiver

Joseph S. Vandiver
Professor of Sociology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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